ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

NEW SERIES.

I.

HE RAUZAT-US-SAFA;

OR,

GARDEN OF PURITY.

CONTAINING

The Histories of Prophets, Kings, and Khalifs.

BY

MUHAMMAD BIN KHÂVENDSHÂH BIN MAHMUD,

COMMONLY CALLED MIRKHOND.

PART I.

VOLUME SECOND.

Translated from the Original Persian

BY

E. REHATSEK,

AND CALLED BY HIM 'SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY ACCORDING TO THE MOSLEM BELIEF.'

EDITED BY

F. F. ARBUTHNOT, M.R.A.S.

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PART I. (*continued*).

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THIS second volume, which completes the translation of the first part of Mirkhond's 'General History,' contains a good deal of interesting matter. The Moslem version of our Bible stories is continued from the death of Mûsa [Moses] to the mission of I'sa [Jesus], with details of his birth, life, and death, which tend to confirm Gibbon's statement that 'the wonders of the genuine and apocryphal gospels are profusely heaped on his head;' and the Latin Church has not disdained to borrow from the Koran some stories connected with his virgin mother. In addition to the above, the biographies of Alexander the Great, of certain philosophers, and of the kings of the first four Persian dynasties, from an unknown period B.C., up to A.D. 632, are given at some length. To these are also added some stories connected with early Christianity, and others on the excellence of knowledge and wisdom.

Since the publication of the first volume of this series, I have come across an interesting work by Mr. Edwin Johnson, entitled, 'The Rise of Christendom' (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co, 1890). The object of his book is apparently to prove that the religious literature of the Jews and Christians is based upon the Koran and the Chronicles of Tabari, and that the teachings of the Synagogue and the Church followed the traditions of the Mosque. He says 'the rise of Hebrew literature in Spain from the latter decades of the tenth century, or from the beginning of the eleventh, is a fact of the utmost importance

with reference to the rise of Christendom,' both of which are closely connected with the Moslem preachings and teachings at Cordova and elsewhere.

Though Judaism, Christianity, and Muhammadanism followed each other in their line of prophets from Adam to Muhammad, Mr. Johnson maintains that 'the Arabians were our first teachers of the Book, and it is due to historic circumstances, as Gibbon points out in a lively passage, that our Oxford divines are not now defending and expounding the Moslem form of the Bible—that is, the Koran—rather than the Testaments.'

It is impossible in a short preface to give further details of this interesting book. It must be read to be understood, and even then the reader must possess a good knowledge of classical and theological literature. But with reference to the present work, particular attention may be called to Mr. Johnson's chapter on 'The Traditions of the Mosque,' founded on the Koran and Tabari's Chronicles. Mirkhond used the same sources of information, with the addition of numerous Arabic and Persian histories, and he is thus able to give several versions of the stories handed down to us. Still, in the main it will be found that the traditions of the Mosque as related by Mr. Johnson correspond with the traditions handed down to us by our author, and the two together give a good and correct description of the Jewish and Christian stories and legends from the Muhammadan point of view.

In all the sacred writings which have come down to us from ages past, it is now impossible to ascertain what was really the work of the original authors, or what may be considered as strictly appertaining to them, and left by them either as oral tradition or in writing. Since those times so much has been added, altered and interpolated by copyists, translators, and enthusiasts, that one can only say, as Mirkhond so frequently says in this work, that 'God knows best the true state of the case,' or that 'all knowledge is with God,' or that 'God alone knows what is true.' In all religions the first absolute necessity for belief in them

is faith, which has never been better described than as 'the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.'

While this volume was going through the press, there came the sad news of the death of the esteemed translator of it. Mr. Edward Rehatsek died in Bombay on December 11, 1891, aged 72. He arrived in India the beginning of December, 1847, and had therefore completed a residence of forty-four years in that country without ever leaving it. During the whole of that period he was constantly engaged in studying Oriental languages and Oriental literature, translating works from various languages, writing articles for newspapers, reviews, magazines and journals, and preparing papers for learned societies.

Space will not permit of giving here a detailed list of his many writings on many subjects. It is to be hoped, however, that this will be prepared in time, and published perhaps in the *Quarterly Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, so that it will be possible to be able to refer to much interesting matter now spread over a large surface. Such an account of his literary life and work will show that he was both intelligent and intellectual, and endowed with the qualities of patience, perseverance, and industry, to an extraordinary degree.

Here it will be sufficient to state that for the Oriental Translation Fund New Series he had completed and forwarded translations of the following works:

(1) 'The Nigaristân, or Picture Gallery,' by Muin-uddin Jawini, A.D. 1334; considered by many to be superior to Sa'di's 'Gulistân, or Rose Garden.' [Not yet printed.]

(2) 'Biography of our Lord Muhammad, the Apostle of Allah,' according to the tradition of Ibn Hishâm, obtained from Ibn Ishâk; the best and most trustworthy life of the Prophet now existing, and written during the eighth century A.D. [Not yet printed.]

(3) The whole of the first two parts of Mirkhond's 'General History.'

Of the last-mentioned work, this volume completes the

first part. The first two volumes of the second part will contain the life of the Apostle Muhammad, while the third will give the lives of his four immediate successors.

At the time of his death Mr. Rehatsek was working at the translation of the third part of this voluminous history, and in one of his last letters, after describing his maladies, he finishes by saying, 'Hope, however, never dies; and as work occupies the mind, and keeps off despair, I am determined to translate for you, though slowly, the third part of the "Rauzat-us-safa," so as to make the history of the Khalifahs complete.'

Whether this translation should be continued and completed by others is a question that can be decided hereafter.

F. F. ARBUTHNOT.

18, Park Lane,
London, W.

PART I. (continued).

THE END OF MÛSA'S LIFE; HIS APPOINTING YOSHUA' THE SON OF NÛN TO BE HIS SUCCESSOR, AND THE RECORD OF SOME EVENTS THAT HAPPENED AT THAT TIME.

THERE are various opinions about the death of Mûsa—u. w. b., etc.—but the musk-dropping pen will record that which is in the greatest conformity with the affairs of prophets. Chroniclers have related that when the time of Mûsa's departure was drawing near, he commanded the census of the children of Esrâil to be taken again, and for a search to be made concerning any persons that had come with them from Egypt. Accordingly this matter was again investigated, but no one could be found of that number except Yoshua' and Kalûb. This being reported to Mûsa, he assembled the descendants of the children of Esrâil, a great multitude, to whom he again expounded the Mosaic Law, and the contents of the two tables, elucidating the words by explanations, exhorting them to study the law, and enjoining them to teach it to their children. He appointed copyists for the purpose of writing it in books, and depositing it in archives. After that he wrote with his own most noble hand one copy, collated it with Jebrail, and entrusted the keeping thereof to the chiefs of the race of Harûn, to be preserved in the ark of the covenant. After the completion of the other books all were collated with the copy of Mûsa, and corrected in conformity therewith; they were distributed among the tribes, so that each of them obtained one copy. Mûsa convoked a great assembly of the people on the 7th of the month Adar, in which he appointed Yoshua' to be his successor; and

after recommending the children of Esrâil to the protection of God, he entrusted them to the care of Yoshua', enjoining him to take charge of all the affairs of the administration, and advising the children of Esrâil to obey him. Then he said: 'To-day, which is the 7th of the month Adar, I have attained the one-hundred-and-twentieth year of my age, and my end is approaching. I have appointed a servant of God, distinguished among you by his sincerity of purpose, to be my successor; and I have taken the Lord Most High, with the angels of heaven and earth, as witnesses in this matter. You are not to be cold and slack in following my advice; let not your faith decrease and become sluggish; allow no doubts to enter your minds in matters of religion; attribute no partner to the Lord of the majesty of unity, and implore help from no other god but from Him. Whoever desires to become one of my companions on the day of the resurrection must keep my injunctions, love Yoshua', and follow the precepts of other prophets to be sent after his time. I warn you to be on your guard, and not to disobey Elghâzâr and his children, who are the greatest Emâms of the nation; do not deny their authority, for you will incur the anger and vengeance of God.' All the children of Esrâil accepted the last will of the Lord Mûsa, and bound themselves by written contracts to keep it. After Mûsa had terminated his last injunctions, he recommended the people to each other, took leave of them, grasped Yoshua's hand, and went away with him from among the children of Esrâil. When they were at a considerable distance from the latter, a gentle breeze commenced to waft from the west, the effects whereof apprised Yoshua' of Mûsa's death; having once more embraced, and taken leave of Yoshua', he vanished from among his garments:

Verses: Leave thy station in this place;
Fly joyfully out of this cage.
Rash one! thy heart's abode is mire!
Blessed he who is from its connexion free!

When Mûsa disappeared, and left his garments in the arms of Yoshua', the latter returned with a melancholy

and sorrowful heart to the Esrâilites, and explained to them what had taken place, but the people accused him of having slain Mûsa. They appointed a committee for the purpose of establishing his guilt and of executing judgment. These men had, however, a dream in the night, in which an individual informed them that Yoshua' was innocent of the death of Mûsa, and that the Most High—w. n. b. e.—had appointed him to the seat of righteousness. Therefore they apologized next morning to Yoshua' and liberated him.

PERSONAL DESCRIPTION OF MÛSA AND HARÛN, U. W. B., ETC.; THEIR QUALITIES, NAMES, TITLES, TRADE; THEIR LAW AND PLACE OF SEPULTURE.

The Lord Mûsa was of a light brown complexion, high stature, had curled hair, and a mole on his blessed countenance. Harûn's stature was taller, his blessed colour whiter. He was three years older than Mûsa; his body was corpulent and large.

According to a certain tradition the Lord Mûsa was the fourth *Uvlula'zm*.[1] He was a prophet of exalted dignity and very irascible. Hârun, on the contrary, was slow to anger and meek, gentleness having been the prominent feature of his august character.

Some say that *Mûsa* is an Arabized word which was [originally] *Musia* in Hebrew, and had been invented by the daughter of Fara'ûn when Mûsa was in the coffin. Some allege that *Mu* means 'water' in the Qabat language and *Sa* 'a tree'; and as they found his coffin among the trees in water, they called him *Mûsa*. His well-known titles are 'the speaker with God' and 'the pure one of God.' *Harûn* means in the Hebrew language 'red and white'; and his lordship being endowed with these two qualities, he was called so after them. His title is Wazir, Emâm, and Khalifah.[2]

[1] The meaning of this term has already been explained in vol. i., note 84.

[2] Prime minister, chieftain, and successor.

In the beginning Mûsa was a governor of the children of Esrâil and of the Qabats. When he entered the service of Shoa'ib he became a shepherd, but after he had received his mission he followed no other occupation but that of governing and exhorting the people. Harûn was first a merchant, and afterwards became the prime minister of Mûsa.

At the commencement of his mission Mûsa followed the religion of Ebrahim, but when the Mosaic Law descended [from heaven] he received orders to abolish some of the ordinances, and to establish other new ones. Some things allowed before were prohibited now and *vice versâ*; details of all these things, however, may be found in the histories of the Jews.

All chroniclers agree that the place of Mûsa's sepulture is not known; those of the book[3] say that the tomb of Harûn is in the desert of Sin on Mount Shovik; God the Most High, however, knows best the true state of the case. The blessings of Allah be upon our prophet, upon them, as well as upon all other prophets and inspired messengers.

Record of the various Events that complete this Noble Recital, and an Account of the Murder of the Tire-woman of Fara'ûn's Daughter.

It is related that Asia, the daughter of Fara'ûn, had a tire-woman who attended upon her, but followed the religion of Mûsa (u. w. b., etc). One day when she was arranging the hair of Asia the comb happened to fall from her hand, and she said: 'Bismillah [in the name of Allah],' and took it up again. Fara'ûn's daughter asked: 'Who is he? and what is the property of his name?' The believing woman replied: 'It is He who has granted the royal dignity to thy father, has in the abundance of His bounty created him, and has exalted him to the high position which he

[3] Those of the book, the *Ahl-Kitâb*, mean sometimes the learned, but most usually the *Jews and Christians*, as has already been explained.

occupies.' The daughter of Fara'ûn became astonished and incensed with anger at these words, and immediately reported them to her father. Fara'ûn said: 'It would be unjust to punish that person without first inquiring into this matter, of which she will probably repent.' He therefore summoned her to his presence and examined her, but she repeated what she had stated above; whereat Fara'ûn became so enraged that he ordered her hands and feet to be pierced through with nails, and a dish full of fire to be thrown at her head; but she never flinched in her religion, and would not acknowledge the godhead of Fara'ûn. Therefore he commanded an oven to be heated like a smelter's furnace, and her child, which was three months old, to be thrown into it; but whilst the innocent little one was being consumed by the flames, he consoled his mother in eloquent language as follows: 'Be patient, O mother! Verily I have reached God and enjoy His favour. Between thee and paradise there is but a step or two!' It is said that at the sight of this miracle numerous Qabats professed monotheism, were converted from their infidelity and scepticism, and became Musalmans [*sic*].

Record of Asia, Daughter of Muzâhum, and Wife of Fara'ûn,[4] with the Account of her Murder.

The pedigree of Asia ascends to Lôt, the prophet. Some Arab genealogists attribute to her kinship with Ziamiân, who is said to have been a relative of Fara'ûn. At any rate, she was a believer in the unity of God, practised the Law of Mûsa, but concealed her religion from Fara'ûn until she made an open profession of it on the occasion of the execution and crucifixion of the sorceress, as has been narrated above. Some assert that when Fara'ûn ordered the tire-woman of his daughter to be slain, Asia was sitting in a balcony; but when she perceived what was taking place she impatiently came down, approached Fara'ûn, dissuaded him from pursuing the course in which he was

[4] Qurân, ch. lxvi. 11.

engaged, and threatened him with the punishment of the next world. When he had heard her words he imputed lunacy to her, but she said: 'Thou art the madman, because, despite of the weakness of humanity, thou layest claim to the honours of the Deity.' On that occasion she made a public profession of her religion, saying: 'I believe in Allah the Most High, my Lord and Master of both worlds.' Fara'ûn called out to the mother of his spouse, and said: 'Thy daughter has become mad; advise her to apostatize from the religion of Mûsa, or else I shall destroy her in the basest manner.' When he despaired of her again becoming an unbeliever, he pierced her body with four nails, and tortured her until she was translated to the propinquity of Divine mercy. It is said that during the execution Mûsa happened to pass near the spot in which it took place, and on Asia's beckoning to him and complaining of her torments, he prayed; whereon the Almighty—w. n. b. e.—so alleviated her sufferings that she felt no pain at all, but departed smiling and rejoicing from the perishable to the everlasting mansion.

Account of Mûsa's Staff and its Properties.

Some of the qualities of Mûsa's rod have been narrated above in these pages, and were taken from the *Mundhaj-us-sâlakeen*. In the *Jâmi' Aa'zim* it is related that the staff of Mûsa was of Môz-wood, and was as tall as his own stature. Some say it was thirty or forty cubits high, and had descended from Adam to Shoa'ib by way of inheritance. It had two branches, and its lower part was an iron spear. According to the tradition of Sa'id, the son of Jabir, its name was *Mâsâsut*, but Moqâtol calls it *Naqa'a;* whilst Ebn Hayân surnamed it *A'iath*, and others *A'tiq*. When Mûsa became fatigued in his travels he rode on it, and it ran like an Arab horse. In darkness it shone like a lamp. When he was thirsty he let it down into a well, whereon it became elongated; a bucket appeared at its extremity, and water could be drawn. When he became hungry,

food sufficient for one day appeared on any wall to which he pointed. If he wished for fruit he fixed his staff in the ground, whereon it was transmuted into a fruit-bearing tree. When he wanted perfume, it exhaled the fragrance of musk and ambergris. If he desired to fight an enemy it transmuted itself into a terrible dragon, and it is said that every time Mûsa threw it upon the ground it became a very black serpent, from which hands and feet protruded; its throat contained twelve teeth, sharp like swords and javelins. It vomited fire; its eyes sparkled like lightning; the wind, Simûm, blew from its nostrils, and its motions caused the ears to tingle as when fire was being kindled. Its total length from head to tail was eighty cubits; its body was studded with hairs, resembling thorns of the desert, and bristling so that the hardest stones thrown against them only rebounded without injuring the monster. When it erected its head skywards it looked like a black spire, and the circumference of its body was like that of a dromedary. Notwithstanding its size, it combined the length of a dragon with the agility and levity of a snake. The Lord of Majesty—w. n. b. e.—has in many places mentioned it in the glorious Qurân, as for instance, 'and behold it became a visible serpent,'[5] etc. Besides the properties just enumerated it was also endowed with others, to detail which would prolong this account greatly.

Story of the Rock.

It is said that the Lord Mûsa was so bashful and reluctant to show his nude body that no one had ever seen it. Complete nakedness not being prohibited among the children of Esrâil, they veiled it not in the presence of each other; but as he was averse to this practice, the wicked among the people slanderously imputed to him a filthy disease.[6] This falsehood obtained such currency that the Lord of Magnificence ordered, for the purpose of showing Mûsa's innocence, a stone, upon which he had deposited his

[5] Qurân, ch. vii. 104.

[6] *Ibid.*, ch. xxxiii. 69.

garments whilst bathing, to put itself in motion, with the clothes thereon. When Mûsa perceived this he stepped forth naked from the water to obtain his clothes, and was thus compelled to run in pursuit of the stone, which he was unable to overtake until he had passed some of the people, who were able to perceive nothing, except the purity of his august body, and thus became aware of the foulness of their suspicions, so that all the children of Esrâil were compelled unanimously to acknowledge his internal and external purity. After that Mûsa was, by Divine inspiration, commanded to preserve that stone, because it would be needed afterwards. It is said that this rock had four surfaces, from each of which three fountains gushed forth on being struck with the staff; in the beginning the water flowed only in drops, but became gradually so abundant that it sufficed for all the tribes of Esrâil.

Story of the Ark of Tranquillity.

The author of the *Labâb-ut-tafâsir* says that when Adam —u. w. b., etc.—exchanged the pleasant mansion of eternity [in paradise] for the abode of affliction in this world, the Lord Almighty—w. n. b. e.—sent him for his consolation an ark, which contained the portraits of all the prophets,[7] the last of all of which was the figure of our prophet—u. w. b., etc.—made of red rubies, and around it the members of his family and his companions were arranged. The ark was made of box-wood, three cubits long and two broad, adorned with golden bars and pictures. Sheth had received it by inheritance, and it reached Ebrahim in the same way. After him it fell into the possession of Esmâil and then into that of the latter's son Qidâr, with whom the sons of Esahâq contended for the possession of the ark; he would, however, not surrender it until one night when he was ordered by a [Divine] herald to give it

[7] A full description of this box and the portraits is given in the *A'jâib-ul-buldân* ('Wonders of Countries') of Zakariah Qazvini, but is not worth quoting.

to his uncle's son Ya'qûb. He accordingly bore it on his shoulders to Kana'an, delivered it to his lordship, and thus it remained among the children of Esrâil until Mûsa received it. Some affirm that the ark of tranquillity and the ark of the testimony were one and the same thing, and they state their case as follows: 'When the time of Mûsa's departure from the world had drawn near he prayed to the Lord of Magnificence in this manner—"O Lord, the children of Esrâil are Thy servants and the time of my death is approaching; if Thou wouldst confer upon them a favour, which might after me become to them an occasion of victory, they would certainly conquer their enemies, and have a cause for rejoicing." The prayer of Mûsa having been responded to, the allocution reached him to construct an ark, endowed with the above-named properties, and to place therein that which would be indicated to him, so that the affairs of the children of Esrâil might prosper. After that Mûsa constructed an ark of silver, gold, brass, iron, and other substances, placed a golden bolt on it, and deposited in it the stone from which the twelve fountains gushed, as well as the fragments of the tables [of the law] and the two others which he had obtained after breaking the former ones, with a vessel in which the angels had washed the hearts of the prophets, and also the books of the Mosaic Law, which he had written with his own noble hand; he also ordered that after his death his garments and those of Harûn be put into the ark with their shoes, and that its top be then closed. When the children of Esrâil acted according to his injunctions, and whenever any misfortune befell them, they brought forth the ark, by whose blessing they were relieved thereof. This ark was sometimes in the treasuries of kings, sometimes in the hands of grandees and of pious men among the children of Esrâil, until on a certain occasion some A'mâlekites arrived, vanquished the children of Esrâil, took away the ark and placed it under the feet of idols in their temple, but when they entered in the morning they found the ark placed upon the heads of the idols. They were astonished at

this, and threw the ark upon the ground; but after they had several times observed it occupying a place contrary to their wishes, they took it out of the city and conveyed it to a village in the neighbourhood; and the inhabitants of the latter became afflicted with sore necks in consequence of this step. The ark was therefore taken to another place and buried; the people of the locality then became subject to hemorrhoids, and at last tied the ark upon cows and calves, and carried it back to the children of Esrâil. An angel was their guide and conducted them to the Jews, who then rejoiced, magnified God, and transferred the dominion to Tâlût.[8] There are, however, many opinions about the ark of tranquillity, some being of opinion that the figure of a woman was in the ark, which began to speak when any untoward incident took place, giving advice to the children of Esrâil, how to manage their affairs. It is also said that only its face resembled a human countenance, but all its limbs were different. Others allege that the ark of tranquillity contained an animal with a head like a cat, and having a wing on each shoulder. Another tradition affirms that it had two heads and again another that it had only one, but also a tail and wings. This ark has also been interpreted as *Berenj jafâfa*,[9] the Divine mercy, the radiating light and the spirit; but He [*i.e.*, Allah] knows best the true state of the case.

Story of the Tables.

Some of the principal historians assert that the tables are a metaphor to express the Mosaic Law; the correct opinion, however, is that the tables were different from the Mosaic Law; they were, namely, the ten tables which contained the ten commandments, as has been previously narrated in these pages. Some assert that Mûsa threw down these tables in his anger, so that all of them were broken to pieces; but at his request the Almighty—w. n. b. e.—

[8] Tâlût is Saul.

[9] These are supposed to be Syriac or Hebrew words.

recorded those commandments on other tables and sent them to him. There is also a variety of opinions concerning the material of which the said tables were made. Some say they were of emerald, other say of *Zabarjad*.[10] It is alleged that each of these tables was twelve cubits long, but some say less. Others again believe that the tables were taken froma granite rock, which the Lord of Unity had ordered to become soft; Jebrâil cut the tables from it, smoothed and planed them with his own hands, *and having taken ink from the sea of light with the same* pen wherewith the Qurân had been written, he recorded the ten commandments, and Mûsa—u. w. b., etc.—heard the sound of the pen when in motion.

Description of the Mosaic Law.

The Jews believe that the Mosaic Law descended [from heaven] in nine tables, each of which was ten cubits long. Rabi' Bin Anûs states that the Mosaic Law came down in forty books, which were so heavy that forty camels were required to move them from place to place. One portion consisted of a thousand chapters, each of which in its turn contained one thousand verses, and was read through once a year. None of the ancient prophets, except Mûsa, Harûn, Yoshua' the son of Nûn, and I'sa [Jesus] knew the entire Mosaic Law by heart; some, however, allege that Daniâl and Armia [Jeremiah] had also memorized it. Of later nations [or rather persons] A'li the son of Abu Tâleb—may Allah ennoble his face—knew the entire Mosaic Law. Among the Shia'hs, the Emâm Nâtuq, son of Muhammad-us-sadiq, is also said to have retained it in his memory.

Description of the Meeting of the Two Seas.

The author of the *Labâb-ut-tafâsir* has related that hereby the meeting of the sea of Greece and Persia is meant. Muhammad Bin Jarir-ut-Tabari says it is a three days' journey where the eastern sea from Adarbaijân meets

[10] A kind of emerald, a chrysolite, a topaz, a jasper.

the western sea from A'dea. Moqâtul says it is the river As and the river Kar. Ali Bin Ka'b states that by the meeting of the two seas Afriqiah is meant. The illuminati have explained it as [the meeting of] the sea of prophecy and the sea of knowledge; accordingly this union of the seas would point to a place [or rather an individual ?] in which both these qualities [had] met in the most perfect manner. According to lexicographers the word *Huqb*,[11] with reference to Mûsa, means eighty, seventy, and, according to others, one hundred years, or an unlimited time; it is also called a very long life.

Enumeration of the Miracles of Mûsa.

Most of the acts of the Lord Mûsa were extraordinary and wonderful, and the miracles of most other prophets have also been classified long after they had taken place, except such as continued to operate for a long time [and therefore obtained a very prominent place]. The miracles of Mûsa thus classified amount to the number of twenty-eight, as follows:—1. The staff, which was instrumental in several prodigies, as has already been narrated above. 2. The bright hand. 3. The famine of the Fara'ûnites, and the loss of their crops. 4. The inundation [or storm]. 5. The locusts. 6. The lice. 7. The frogs. 8. The transmutation of water into blood. 9. The changing of jewels and coins into stones. 10. The death of the virgins. 11. The division of the water of the sea into twelve parts. 12. The reticulation of the walls of the sea, and the drying of its bottom. 13. The speaking of the infant of the tire-woman of Fara'ûn's daughter. 14. The destruction of A'vuj the son of A'naq by Mûsa's hand. 15. The resuscitation of the chieftains of Esrâil, after having been killed by lightning. 16. The appearance of golden dots on the tongues of the worshippers of the calf. 17. The properties of the ashes of the calf which were of much use in alchemy; these properties have been described by Jâber in the work *Rusûm*

[11] This is the last word of ch. xviii. 59 in the Qurân, viz., 'Huqubân.'

Sena't. 18. The forty *Miqát* [attendance on mount Sinai]. 19. The forty intercessions when he was prostrated in adoration during forty days and nights. 20. The forty supplications when he was standing during that time in one place. 21. Story of the cow. 22. Destruction of Qarûn. 23. Descent of manna and quails. 24. The gushing forth of water from the rock. 25. The renewal of the garments of the children of Esrâil, which did not wear out during their wanderings, but became daily more and more fresh by the blessings of his noble efforts. 26. The resuscitation of Harûn by his prayers. 27. The dark cloud which shaded the children of Esrâil from the effects of the sun. 28. The descent of the Tables of the Mosaic Law.

Another of the miracles of Mûsa was 'the sudden judgment,' which remained among the children of Esrâil for a hundred years. This was a golden rod, upon which Mûsa had wound wool and linen, had inserted into their texture precious gems, and had written three lines thereon, each in a different colour, consisting of the names of Ebrahim, Esahâq and Ya'qûb, with those of the twelve tribes painted on it, and on account of these names it contained all the letters of the alphabet.[12] When any important event took place among the children of Esrâil, and no one knew how to act, they assembled and stood in front of the Harûnian high-priest, until he donned his official dress and suspended 'the sudden judgment' on his breast above the garments. Then he explained the difficulty, and at that very moment he heard a reply from 'the sudden judgment'; but if the said answer happened to be lengthy, it manifested itself upon the single letters in such a way, that by connecting them the explanation of the matter could be read. It is said that in Yoshua's time an individual had stolen some valuable property, but that no clue whatever could be found of the theft; wherefore Yoshua' had recourse to that *belt*,[13] which revealed the thief, after whose confession immediate punishment ensued. The robber's name was A'aher,

[12] Something like the *Ephod* of Exod. xxviii. 6. [13] *Ibid.*

son of Karmy, son of Randi, son of Zaráj, son of Yahuda, and the articles stolen were a garment inlaid with precious stones, a turbân of golden texture encrusted with rubies, and a necklace adorned with wonderful figures. This event made such an impression upon the wicked portion of the children of Esrâil, that after that time no one attempted to commit any crimes of the above-mentioned kind.

Another of the prodigies of Mûsa was, that he constructed a tank full of water, the locks and keys whereof he entrusted to the keeping of Harûn. Whenever a husband entertained suspicions about his wife, he poured some of the water of the tank into an earthen vessel, and threw a little mud with the tips of his fingers into it; then he breathed a prayer upon it, mentioning the circumstances and the name of the woman. After that he gave the water to his spouse to drink, who immediately turned black and expired if she had committed adultery; but remained unhurt if she was innocent, and gave birth to a child by her husband during the same year. She became pregnant though she may have been barren previously, and was henceforth a child-bearing woman. This miracle likewise remained in operation among the children of Esrâil during one thousand years. It is related that in those times there were two sisters among the people, who resembled each other so much that they could not easily be distinguished. The husband of one of them suspected her of adultery, and informed the Harûnian priests of the case. They despatched a person to produce the woman; the adulteress, however, cunningly sent her sister, who underwent the trial, and having been found innocent, returned. When she arrived at home, her guilty sister embraced her, but the breath of the pious woman, who had drank of the water, ascended into the brains of the adulteress, who immediately became black, and died on the spot, for an example to the inhabitants of the world. One of the strange circumstances of Mûsa's life was, that he expired at the same hour of [the day] in which he was born.

STORY OF YOSHUA' THE SON OF NÛN.

Allah—w. n. b. e.—has said:—'And [remember] when Mûsa said unto his servant [Yoshua' the son of Nûn], I will not stop until I come to the place where the two seas meet; or I will travel for a long space of time.'[14] Theologians and historians agree that in this verse the word 'servant' means 'Yoshua' the son of Nûn,' who was one of the greatest prophets, and his story runs as follows:

When the children of Esrâil had obtained certainty of Mûsa's death, and were deploring his loss for one month, they conferred the plenary power of governing upon Yoshua' and agreed to obey him in all things. On the 6th day of the month Nisân, during the first year of Mûsa's decease, the Lord of Grandeur addressed Yoshua' as follows: 'Assemble the children of Esrâil, and make efforts to conquer Ariha [Jericho] and the country of Syria, because the time has arrived when the promise made by Me to Mûsa is to be fulfilled! Victory and conquest will be the sequel of the expedition to Syria!' In obedience to the divine command, Yoshua' immediately harangued the people of Esrâil, warned them not to oppose the Divine will, promised them good success, and fitted out the army, which started on the 10th of Nisân for Ariha. It is said that when the hosts of Esrâil crossed the Ardan [the river Jordan] the particles of water receded from each other, and a dry path appeared, through which the children of Esrâil passed with the greatest security; after that the waters again met and the river flowed as before. When this miracle took place Yoshua' caused twelve big stones to be set up over each other, and the people built a tower on the spot, in commemoration of the prodigy. In that place they also celebrated the festival of the Passover; then they picked out two men from among themselves and sent them

[14] *Qurân*, ch. xviii. 59, see also footnote 11, and it will be noticed that the last word *huqubân* has here been translated by 'a long space of time.'

as spies towards Ariha, who, after their return, informed the children of Esrâil about the habits and circumstances of the inhabitants of it. The army then quickly marched in that direction, and besieged three towns. It is related that Ariha was a large fortified town, with strong breast-works and ramparts. Its earthworks reached the clouds, and its towers vied in altitude with the sphere that contains the signs of the zodiac. It contained large houses, flowing brooks, gardens, parks, and populous thoroughfares. As the city was fortified with strong defences the inhabitants believed its conquest to be difficult and remote, although the enemy was very near. Yoshua' had, however, ascertained by his prophetic light, that the place could not stand a siege; therefore he proceeded on the seventh day of it with the chieftains and the grandees of the people of Esrâil, as well as the Harûnian priests and the ark of the testimony, to circumambulate the city seven times; then he uttered an invocation and breathed against it, whereon the ramparts of the fortifications all at once separated and crumbled to pieces, so that a citadel of such magnitude became level with the ground without any external causes.[15] The children of Esrâil then entered Ariha, which they plundered and ravaged according to their heart's content, accumulating immense booty Thereon Yoshua' ordered the soldiers to produce everything they had taken, and not to spend anything, because at that time the adherents of monotheism were not allowed to plunder until the time of the mission of his lordship the seal of prophets [*i.e.*, Mahammud] had arrived, as shall—if Allah pleaseth—be narrated at the proper place in the second volume of this work. When all the property taken by the army had been brought forth, Yoshua' ordered it to be destroyed by fire; but as the fire had no effect upon the spoils, he knew that there must be some treachery. Therefore he had recourse to the 'sudden judgment,' which revealed the name of the villain, who confessed his guilt, and produced the golden head of a cow, encrusted with rubies and

[15] Joshua vi 20

sapphires, which he had secreted. This having been placed on the top of the other booty, the fire immediately took effect and burnt the traitor likewise.

When the people of Esrâil entered the city, Yoshua' asked them to implore the Lord and pardoner of transgressions to forgive their sins, and to offer their thanksgivings for having been delivered of their migrations in the desert. Numbers of the pious and devout among the multitude complied with this injunction; others, however, scoffed and asked for corn. The number of those who had ridiculed Yoshua' is said to have amounted to seventy thousand, but they were all suddenly destroyed by lightning. After this Yoshua' ordered Ailia to kill all the A'mâlekites who happened to be there; it is, however, said that they were so athletic and strong that twenty of the children of Esrâil assembled around one of them for the purpose of severing his head from his body, but could not effect it.

After the conquest [of Ariha] Yoshua' proceeded to Balqa, likewise a strong fortified town, with a high citadel, the inhabitants of which were idolaters. They had a king of the name of Bâluq, and Bala'm was also among them, which latter individual was, according to the opinion of the Jews, a sorcerer, but the chiefs of the Muhammadan faith assert that he was a devout believer, who knew the [ineffable] name of Allah, by whose blessings his prayers were answered. When Yoshua' arrived at Balqa, Bâluq had not the strength to meet him or to fight him in an open battle-field; wherefore he retreated into a fortified town, after the protracted siege whereof [by the Esrâilites] he requested Bala'm, who was also called Bala'âm, to pray that the children of Esrâil might be put to flight.[16] Bala'm, however, at first refused, and said: 'Yoshua' is a prophet of Allah—w. n. b. e.—has brought his army to this country, by divine command, and I cannot pray for the required purpose, and you must make a profession of the religion of

[16] Numbers, ch. xxii. 6. 'Come now, therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people.'

Mûsa, that you may be delivered from the wrath of Allah.' At last, however, Bala'm was, by threats and promises, induced to swerve from the straight path, and invoked the Lord Almighty to put the children of Esrâil to flight. His prayer was answered, and the troops of Yoshua' fled, and the latter having supplicated God with reference to this event, the allocution arrived: 'There is a servant of Mine among the inhabitants of Balqa who calls upon me by the greatest [*i.e.*, ineffable] name, and whatever he asks from Me is granted to him.' Yoshua' said: 'O God! since this prayer of his is not impressed with the signet of confirmation, cause him to forget that name.' The request of Yoshua' was hereon complied with, and the ineffable name blotted out of Bala'm's memory. Yoshua' then returned to the children of Esrâil and augmented his efforts in beleaguering the enemies of the true religion. The king afterwards again requested Bala'm to utter his prayers against the children of Esrâil, and to implore the Almighty —w. n. b. e.—to disperse them, but although Bala'm recited his orisons, they were not responded to; he therefore advised the king to send handsome and lascivious women into the camp of Yoshua', and assured him that if one individual of the children of Esrâil committed adultery, God the Most High would refuse them the victory. The king accordingly despatched, at the instigation of Bala'm, dissolute females to the army of the Esrâilites, with injunctions to grant them anything they might ask for. These women proceeded to the locality, and one of them accosted a grandee of the children of Esrâil, who was the governor of the tribe of Shima'ûn, Bin Ya'qûb Zamry Bin Shalûm by name, who took her by the hand, brought her to Yoshua', and said: 'I think, according to thy opinion, it would be unlawful for me to have this woman.' Yoshua' replied: 'Certainly! God forbid thou shouldst have anything to do with her; because whenever an Esrâilite commits adultery pestilence sent by heaven afflicts us.' Zamry continued: 'I shall not obey thy commands" He then took the woman into his tent; but the misery of the plague broke out in the army that very moment.

When Makhâz, the son of A'ezâr, the son of Harûn, who was one of the chiefs and grandees of the people, had heard of what happened, he snatched up a lance,[17] hastened to the tent of Zamry, pierced therewith both the man and woman, carried them to the camp, and stood for a long time shouting: 'Whoever will hereafter have anything to do with dissolute women will be punished in this manner.' Therefore the children of Esrâil withdrew from that sinful course, and expelled the prostitutes from the camp. The Lord of Magnificence then removed the misery of the pestilence from among the children of Esrâil, and deprived Bala'm, on account of his misdemeanour, of the diadem of knowledge, the robe of piety and of religion. The next day Yoshua' ordered the army to march to the citadel. The Esrâilites were beating their drums and blowing their wind-instruments, and from Friday morning until the time of the afternoon prayers they engaged in fighting. When the evening had drawn near a part of the wall fell down by an earthquake; the conquest became evident, the carnage increased, and as by the command of Mûsa every occupation except devotion was illicit, Yoshua' implored the Omnipotent Inscrutable One to order the sun to retrograde; accordingly it moved by command of the Lord of lords from west to east and remained stationary[18] until the children of Esrâil had terminated the slaughter of the A'mâlekites and giants; they also captured Bâluq and Bala'm, causing them to meet their friends [in death].

It is known that for the sake of three individuals the sun rose from the western horizon Firstly, at the instance of Yoshua', the son of Nûn; secondly, for Sulimân, the prophet—u. w. b., etc.—on the occasion of the 'horses swift in course';[19] and, thirdly, for A'li the elect—may Allah ennoble his face—as shall be narrated in its proper place if it pleaseth Allah.

When Yoshua' was, on Sunday, collecting the spoils and burning them, he heard of there being in the vicinity of

[17] Numbers, ch. xxv. 7. [18] Joshua, ch. x. 13.
[19] Qurân, ch. xxxviii. 30.

the Holy Land a town of the name of A'ali, the inhabitants of which were likewise idolaters. Therefore he again collected his army and marched to that region, and having captured the king of it, he massacred him with twelve thousand idolaters. In the rear of that town there were two mountains, one of which was called A'mâd, and the other Jia'ûn; the population between them being very large. Yoshua' marched there and invited all men to make their profession of Islâm, whereon many asked for mercy and became Musalmâns. Near these mountains there was also another height called Salam, with a strong fortification and numerous inhabitants. That fort possessed many outworks and conveniences. Yoshua' paid a visit to the king, who was a giant of the name of Bâruq, and invited him to accept the religion of Islâm, which the king and his people did.

After these great conquests Yoshua' marched to the extreme west, and arrived in the country of Armaniân, which contained five towns, with a king in each. The people heard of Yoshua's approach, attacked him, but were put to flight, and took refuge in a cave. Yoshua' despatched a few warriors there, whilst he himself, with the heroes of his army, went in pursuit of the retreating foes, great numbers of whom were slain The strangest thing of all, however, was, that those who had escaped from the sword were killed by hailstones to such an extent that their numbers exceeded those who had perished by the sword. After this victory Yoshua' took the five kings and exterminated them; then the drum of return was struck, and he engaged in conquering the rest of Syria, thirty-one of the kings of which he captured and killed, so that he at last vanquished the whole country and distributed it amongst the children of Esrâil. All these events took place during the space of seven years. According to a tradition, his noble mind was after these wars occupied twenty years more with governing the people and teaching them the Mosaic Law. When, however, the time of his departure was approaching, his health failed him; he fell

a prey to a grave malady, and was prostrated on his bed. On that occasion the news arrived that King Salam had apostatized from the religion, and had revolutionized all the country. As Yoshua' was unable to wage war on account of his malady, he invoked the wrath of God upon the whole, sent for Kalûb, the son of Yûfanna, appointed him to be his successor and heir, and departed from this world.

His Personal Description, Qualities, Miracles, Duration of his Mission, and his Tomb.

He was of a middling stature, had large eyes, a light-brown complexion, and a broad chest. He was brave, warlike, and well acquainted with all the stratagems of war and fighting. He followed the religion of Mûsa, and acted in conformity with the Mosaic Law. One of his miracles was the division of the waters of the Ardan [Jordan], when the children of Esrâil crossed it; another was that of the sun, as has been narrated above, but others are also recorded. The Jews and Christians allege that he lived one hundred and ten years,[20] and that the duration of his mission was ten years. Tha'alebi has related in the *A'râis* that his mission lasted twenty-seven, and his whole life one hundred and twenty-six years. It is related in the *Muntazim* that Yoshua' was forty-two years of age when Mûsa departed this life, and that he governed during twenty-seven years; accordingly his whole life must have amounted to one hundred and twenty-seven years.[21] His tomb is in the vicinity of those of his renowned ancestors, Ebrâhim and Yusuf (u. w. b., etc.).

Record of Kalûb, the Son of Yûfanna.

Allah, the Most High, has said: 'Two men of those who feared God, unto whom God had been gracious' (till the end of the verse). It is said that in this blessed verse the words 'two men' point to Yoshua' and Kalûb.[22] The

[20] Joshua, ch. xxiv. 29. [21] 42+27=69, not 127.
[22] Qurân, ch. v. 26.

majority of theologians assert that he was a Divine messenger, and support their opinion by many quotations from the text of the Mosaic Law.

When Yoshua' departed to the eternal mansion, and had entrusted all the affairs of the children of Esrâil to the care of Kalûb in his last will and injunctions, the latter began to govern the people, who obeyed him in all things. After Kalûb had arranged the religious and secular concerns, he ordered a great army to be enlisted, with whose victorious standards he started on an expedition for the purpose of attacking King Bâruq, and turned the conquering reins towards the region of Salam. When his august forces arrived in that country, they surrounded those mountains without any delay or procrastination, and having put to flight all who resisted, took possession of the citadel, and killed nearly two thousand of the rebels in the defiles and passes of the mountains, shaking the abode of the stability of those accursed ones to its foundations by the fiery wind of their attack. Bâruq, with many of his courtiers and adherents, fell into captivity; those who escaped the sword were scattered in deserts and mountains like locusts, and the effects of Kalûb's prayers having overtaken them, all their sown fields, gardens, benefits, and comforts perished, so that everyone who had saved his life spent it henceforth in mendicancy, or supported it by collecting wood in misery and exile.

It is said that Bâruq had in his prison fifty kings whose fingers he had cut off,[23] and whom he was in the habit of bringing forward when he was at dinner, and of throwing crumbs of bread at them, for which they contended with each other like hungry dogs, and picked them up with their mouths. When Kalûb heard this he ordered Bâruq to be dealt with precisely in the same manner, and to be fed as he had been feeding others.

After obtaining this glorious victory by the favour of the Bestower and Creator—w. n. b. e.—Kalûb returned

[23] Judges, ch. i. 7. 'Three score and ten kings, having their thumbs and their great toes cut off, gathered their meat under my table,' etc.

from that country and marched to Egypt. The children of Esrâil maintained themselves in the undisputed possession of the whole of Syria, with a portion of Egypt, and lived in comfort. Kalâb governed the people, and attended to the duties of his prophetic dignity, until his departure from this world approached, when he appointed his son Yusâqûs to be his successor, took leave of his life, and surrendered the jewel of his vitality to the grasper of souls:

Verses : The king of the world abandons the world,
Another sovereign takes possession thereof.
Such is the custom of this changing inn,
That it gives joy with wealth, and grief with pain anon.

As historians and chroniclers have not recorded his personal description, the duration of his mission and life, nor the place of his sepulture, it was impossible to narrate them in this place.

Story of Hazkil the Prophet, known as 'the Son of the Old Woman.'[24]

Allah—w. n. b. e.—has said : 'Hast thou not considered those who left their habitations, and they were thousands, for fear of death ? and Allah said unto them, Die; then he restored them to life, for Allah is gracious towards mankind, but the greater part of them do not give thanks.'[25] Divines and commentators are at variance whether the dead were resuscitated by the instrumentality of Yoshua', the son of Nûn, or Ashamail, or Hazkil; the most correct opinion, however, is that it had been done by the last-named individual.

Hazkil was the third successor after his lordship the speaker [with God]. The reason of his being called 'the son of the old woman' is, because his father had two wives, one of whom bore him ten sons, and the other [who afterwards became] the mother of 'the son of the old woman'

[24] The words are *Ebn-ul-a'jûz*.
[25] Qurân, ch. ii. 244, and Sale's note thereon.

was barren.[26] His father was the sacrificing priest of the children of Esrâil, and one of the duties of the said official was, that as soon as he perceived the sign of the acceptance of the sacrifice, he placed a forked iron, upon the two prongs of which there were figures of two dogs, into the meat, and whatever thereof stuck to those two figures, the sacrificer was allowed to dispose of for his own use.[27] One day the father of Hazkil had brought to his house the meat which had in this manner fallen to his share, divided it into twelve portions, eleven of which he gave to one of his wives, and to her children, and one portion to the mother of Hazkil, whom the other wife then insulted, saying: 'The Lord Most High has, by means of my children, shown to me His preference over thee' These words distressed the [future] mother of Hazkil, who engaged in prayers from sunset till the next morning, and implored the Bestower of gifts to vouchsafe to present her with a pious son, in whose society she might while away the melancholy of solitude. She also besought the Granter of requests to give her a sign that her prayers had been responded to. When the sun rose, the old woman, whose courses had ceased for some time, again felt them coming upon her; the Omnipotent Inscrutable One presented her with the freshness and bloom of youth; her husband loved her more, and she gave birth to Hazkil, from whose forehead the signs of piety, intelligence, and felicity began to radiate, whereat the people were much astonished, and surnamed him the 'son of the old woman.' When Hazkil [had grown up and] became a prophet, he always admonished the children of Esrâil to follow the religion of Mûsa, to keep the Mosaic Law and the commandments of God, warning the people not to disobey them. After some time the Most High sent him on a mission to Ailia, whilst others allege that he was commanded to go to a town of the name of Dâvur, the inhabitants of which encouraged each other to wage a religious war [for the purpose of aiding Hazkil]; but as they were dilatory and procrastinating,

[26] 1 Samuel, ch. i. 5. [27] *Ibid.*, ch. ii. 14.

the Lord of Majesty afflicted them with pestilence, on account of which they fled from the city; they had, however, run not more than one mile when they heard fearful shouts, in consequence of which all of them hastened to the next world. Ebn A'bbâs relates that they were four thousand in number, but Wuhub Bin Muniah asserts that they amounted to eighty thousand. It is also narrated by Ebn A'bbâs that after seven days had elapsed since the death of those people their corpses burst and stank. On that occasion Hazkil happened to have finished his devotions, and was passing that way, but feeling commiseration in his heart, he said: 'O Lord, Thou hast destroyed these people!' He then heard the answer: 'They fled from the plague, therefore I displayed My power to them.' Hazkil prayed to the Lord to resuscitate those men to life, and the request was granted; those people, however, not only themselves retained a cadaverous smell, but also their children and descendants were affected therewith. Wuhub states that their flesh had fallen to pieces, and their bones were also rotten when they were again restored to life by the prayers of Hazkil; the knowledge is, however, with Allah.[28]

When the corpses were resuscitated they exclaimed: 'Praise be to Thee, O Lord! There is no God but Thou!' They arose from that place, returned to their country, and acted during the remainder of their lives according to the religion of Mûsa, until their predestined fate overtook them, and they were compelled by death to walk into the pleasant mansion of eternity. After Hazkil had for a long time remained among the children of those people who were sometimes obedient and at others rebellious towards him, his noble mind was so grieved that he departed from their country to the land of Babel, whence he was removed to the everlasting abode:

Distich: A deceitful mansion must be this,
Now in sorrow, now in bliss.

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[28] Sale considers this story to have been taken from Ezekiel's vision of the resurrection of dry bones. Ezekiel, ch. xxxvii. 1-10.

It is said that his lordship was interred between Hillah and Kufah, where the Jews greatly venerate his tomb. His personal description, duration of his mission, and of his life not being known, the musk-dripping reed must abstain from mentioning them.

Record of Eliâs [Elijah], the Prophet who roamed in Deserts and Solitude.

His lordship was one of the greatest inspired prophets, and a descendant of Harûn. Some have asserted that Eliâs was Edris, whose corporeal figure had in ancient times disappeared from among the people, but whose spiritual essence had been raised to heaven, and had returned a second time in this age under the name of Eliâs, for the purpose of reclaiming the weak [in the Faith] and convincing the inadvertent and the careless, that although corruption destroys the body, it does not become the cause of real annihilation, and that the spiritual part, upon which the duties of obedience, knowledge and responsibility devolve, remains the same for ever and ever; and likewise of demonstrating to the infidels and to the ignorant that the Lord of Grandeur—w. n. b pr.—is able to invest that spiritual essence with another garment, and to send it [again] another time among the people, according to his will and option, contrary to the [opinions of the] adherents of metempsychosis and the Halulians, all whose assertions are false and vain. At any rate, monotheists and the principal historians relate that when Hazkil left the children of Esrâil many accidents and misfortunes, as well as numerous wicked and rebellious acts took place among them, and that every one of the kings and tribes of the children of Esrâil who were dispersed over the regions of Syria and Egypt professed false and culpable religions, and entirely forgot the commandments of the Mosaic Law. Among the idolaters of that age there was the King of Ba'lbek, Vâjub by name, who proved to be very diligent in worshipping statues and figures. He possessed an idol seventy cubits high, named Ba'l, from whose internal parts

Satan conversed with the people, ordered or prohibited them to do, or to abstain from what he pleased, and four hundred men guarded the temple of that idol. According to the opinion of several commentators, Ba'l was the name of a comely and well-shâped woman, the like of whom did not exist at that time, and the people who believed in her godhead adored her. When, however, the guilt and rebellion of the inhabitants of Ba'lbek had reached their utmost height, Eliâs was ordered and directed to guide them. He said to them, by way of admonition: 'Do you invoke Ba'l and slight the blest Creator?' He invited the people to profess the religion of Mûsa, and read the Mosaic law to them, but was, despite of all his efforts, unable to convert more than one man, who was the prime-minister of the king. Some have narrated that at the commencement the king had acted according to the religion of Mûsa and the command of Eliâs; he had, however, a wife, Arbil by name, who was extremely bloodthirsty and impudent, bearing hatred towards prophets. She had during her long life been successively married to seven kings of the children of Esrâil, every one of whom she succeeded in destroying some way or other. She had seventy sons [*sic*] in connection with whom she seduced the king, and forced the inhabitants of that country to worship Ba'l, to which opprobrious custom they became quite reconciled in course of time. When Arbil received information of the mission of Eliâs, the flames of wrath blazed up in her, and she prepared to slay him. The prophet, however, took refuge from the infidels among the mountains, where he remained alone and solitary in a cavern during seven years, notwithstanding the efforts of the spies of the king, who were unable to discover his hiding-place because the Lord and Sovereign-Guardian kept those malefactors away from him and preserved him by His infinite grace. After the expiration of seven years, however, the king's son fell a prey to a dangerous malady, which made the doctors and physicians despair of his recovery. The king and the queen looked to Ba'l for the recovery of their son, and

augmented their devotions, all of which remained fruitless; wherefore the servant of the idol-temple said: 'Ba'l is angry with you because you have left Eliâs alive, and have ceased to persecute him. For, as long as he is alive, Ba'l will not speak, nor will he protect you from any misfortunes.' The King of Ba'lbek said: 'My mind is engrossed with the disease of my son, and I have not a moment's peace or tranquillity; but if he gets better I shall make efforts, and do my best to discover, capture, and destroy Eliâs, in order to gain the favour of Ba'l.' The servants of the idol-temple said: 'It is proper for thee in this predicament to have recourse to the gods of the inhabitants of Syria, and to ask them to restore the health of thy son, so that if the wrath of Ba'l becomes propitiated, and thou acquirest his grace, he may arrange any affairs that will take place in future.' At the instigation of these accursed ones the king accordingly fitted out four hundred individuals of this rebellious and irreligious nation, and sent them into the country of Syria, in order to intercede for the recovery of his son, and to return again, after having implored the various idols and gods to grant him tranquillity of mind. When they started in that direction, they happened, whilst crossing the desert, to reach the foot of a mountain, where Eliâs had taken up his abode. On that occasion he came down from the mountain by Divine command, and, beginning to admonish them, said: 'Tell the king that God the Most High speaks thus to him: Knowest thou not that I am God, and that there is no other besides Me? I am the God of Ebrahim, of Esma'il, of Esahâq, of Ya'qûb, and of all the inhabitants of the world. I have created them, I provide for them, I cause them to live and to die. Thou associatest, in the littleness of thy intellect and in the perfection of thy folly, other gods with Me, and worshippest them; thou askest thy son's health from them who can neither hurt nor profit thee. I swear by My majesty and glory that I shall pour out My wrath upon thee through thy son, whom I shall soon cause to die; for besides Me, no one has any authority

whatever.' The courtiers of the King of Ba'lbek, who had listened to the words of Eliâs, trembled at them, and great fear overwhelmed their hearts. They returned to their country and delivered the message to the king, but the ill-fated and unhallowed wretch was determined to kill Eliâs, and selected fifty robbers from among his people, whom he despatched to that mountain for the purpose of obtaining possession of Eliâs by stratagem, and killing him by main force. The Most High, however, protected Eliâs, at whose request those who had striven to take his life were consumed by fire. That accursed one despatched men on several occasions, but they were every time destroyed by fire. At last he assembled a great multitude and appointed his Musalmân wazir over it, imagining that Eliâs, attracted by the presence of the wazir, would come forward, and might be captured in that way, if skill and cunning were properly employed. When the messengers arrived in the locality where Eliâs was, he received the [Divine] inspiration to accompany them for the purpose of fulfilling the requisites of celestial wisdom; not to fear for his life, to accompany the Musalmân wazir to the presence of the king, and that the hand of the Lord would shorten the power of the infidels, so that they would by no means be able to injure him. Therefore Eliâs travelled with the servants of the king to the country of Ba'lbek. When he met the king, the malady of whose son happened to be very violent, no one thought of doing the least harm to Eliâs; therefore the latter once more returned to the mountain, and remained there, until his exalted mind became weary of dwelling in mountains and caverns, and he felt inclined to live in a house. When he entered the city he accidentally happened to alight at the house of the mother of Yûnas, and sojourned therein six months. At that time Yûnas was a sucking babe, and his mother waited upon Eliâs with alacrity until he departed from that narrow house, and intended again to roam in the desert. After he had gone away the Lord of Magnificence— w. n. b. pr.—took the soul of Yûnas, whose mother was

greatly distressed by this event, and also by the absence of Eliâs; therefore she hastened in pursuit of the latter, but was unable to find him before she had travelled seven days; whereon she explained to him her unhappy and disconsolate state, and requested him to resuscitate her child to life. Eliâs, however, refused, and said: 'I am but a servant who is ordered about; I do the behest of my Lord, and He has not commanded me to do this.' At these words the mother of Yûnas was so distressed that she rolled about on the earth, and again besought his lordship to help her. Eliâs pitied her, and then prayed as follows: 'O Creator, and accommodating Maker, there is no mystery hidden from Thee:

Distich: Since to Thee the secrets of the mind are open,
What need is there of explanation, much or little?'

On that occasion Eliâs returned, by Divine command, with the woman, reached her house after the expiration of seven days and nights, and ennobled it with his exalted presence. Yûnas, who had now been dead a fortnight, was, by the effects of his prayers, which were considered worthy of response, again resuscitated to life.[29] Then Eliâs departed to the mountain, but as the rebellion of his people became protracted, they ceased not to commit flagitious acts, so that he was much afflicted in his mind. Then this [Divine] allocution was addressed to him: 'O Eliâs! whence this sadness? Why is thy mind so melancholy and depressed? Thou art a witness on earth and an argument to the people: ask Me, and I shall comply, for I am very merciful.'

Verses: He said, 'I ask the Knower of mysteries
To allow me to leave the inn of this world;
I want no longer to behold this people,
Whose nature distresses me so much.'

Then the revelation arrived: 'O Eliâs! what request is this? I shall not deprive the earth of the blessings of thy presence, since the prosperity of the people is bound

[29] 1 Kings, ch. xvii. 22: 'And the Lord heard the voice of Elijah; and the soul of the child came into him again, and he revived.'

up with thy existence; but I shall grant thee anything else thou wilt ask.' Eliâs asked for a famine of seven years, and prayed that the rain and the descent of showers might become interrupted; he received, however, the following reply: 'O Eliâs! the human race is to be supported, but if the benefits of rain are withdrawn therefrom, many people will be destroyed, and innumerable multitudes must perish. Though they oppress each other, the ocean of My mercy is greater than that I should for similar transgressions afflict the whole race. I shall nevertheless comply with thy request in so far as to surrender the reins of the loosing and stopping of the clouds into the hands of thy option, and allow thee during three years to interrupt or to let go the rain according to thy pleasure; nor shall one drop fall on the fields, harvests, or possessions, except by thy permission.' The rain was accordingly withheld from that nation, the flames of scarcity and dearth blazed, the gates of affliction and misery were opened, and the inhabitants remained in that distressing condition for nearly three years.[30] Eliâs was accustomed to spend his time in the houses of some widows and pious persons, and every building in which he sojourned was, by the blessings of his advent, abundantly provided with all necessaries and comforts. The people therefore followed him, but he changed his habitation for that very reason, and thus it happened that he one night entered the habitation of Elisa' [Elisha], the son of Akhtût, where he relieved an old woman of her pains by his orisons. From that time Elisa', who was in the prime and vigour of manhood, became a follower of Eliâs; whereon they went together among the people, inviting them to profess the religion of Islâm, and promising them comfort and happiness, but could not effect anything; wherefore Eliâs harangued them as follows: 'It is a long time since you are worshipping idols; take them therefore this day to the plain, and request them to grant you rain. If they comply with your request we shall cease our mission, and no longer invite you to accept our religion;

[30] 1 Kings, ch. xviii. 2: 'And there was a sore famine in Samaria.'

but if your prayers remain unanswered, you must believe in the unity of God and the truth of our prophetic mission, and we shall offer a supplication, in consequence whereof the meadows of your hopes will be refreshed and drenched by the plentiful showers of the Bounteous Sovereign.' Both parties agreed to these conditions, and when the people despaired of their idols Eliâs offered his supplications for rain; a cloud immediately appeared, increased in bulk, and by the command of the Most Wise Sovereign abundant rain fell, and changed the whole country to its first state. The inhabitants then complained that they had no seeds or grains for sowing; therefore his lordship ordered them to pound salt, and to strew it on the ground, from which the Most High produced harvests for them. The people, however, relapsed, despite of their former afflictions and of these miracles, again into their infidelity, and were not afraid to break the covenant into which they had entered. Then Eliâs prayed to be delivered of the company of those people. Therefore the Omnipotent appointed a time at which their separation was to take place, and when it was near at hand Eliâs went with Elisa' to the mountain, where a horse with all the requisites for riding made its appearance, and everything was [like] burning fire. Eliâs put his foot into the stirrup, took leave of Elisa', appointed him his successor, and left him his woollen cloak.[31] At that moment all physical impulses abandoned his lordship, his connection with all corporeal attributes closed, and the Lord God removed him from the view of mortals:

Distich: Intercourse is painful, company is grief,
Therefore the sage retires into solitude.

STORY.

It is related in the *A'râis* that a man from the country of A'sqallân said: 'I was once travelling at mid-day in the plain of Ardan when I suddenly met a person whom I saluted and asked: "Who art thou, and what art thou

[31] 2 Kings, ch. ii. 13.

doing in this desert?" He replied: "I am the prophet Eliâs." I began to tremble when I heard these words, and said: "O prophet of Allah! pray that this state may leave me, for I have several questions [to ask thee]." His lordship then prayed and placed his hands upon my back, so that I felt their cold and freshness on my breast. I asked: "O prophet of Allah! do any revelations now descend to thee?" Eliâs replied: "Since the mission of the Lord Muhammad the gates of [Divine] inspiration and revelation have been closed, nor will any person after him obtain a revelation." I continued: "How many prophets are still alive at present?" He replied: "Four, namely, I'sa [Jesus] and Edris [Enoch] in heaven, but myself and Khizer on earth." I asked: "How many succedaneous religious men are in existence among the people of Muhammad, and where do they dwell?" He said: "They are sixty in number, fifty of whom are settled from the heights of Egypt down to the river Euphrates; two dwell at Massissa, one at A'sqallân, and seven in all the remaining countries [of the world]. When one of them dies, the Most High substitutes that very moment another in his place."[32] He continued: "Merwân was a rebellious man and resisted God; and those who fought on his side are obnoxious, and will be punished by hell-fire." I said: "O prophet of Allah! I happened to be present in some of his battles, but I neither pierced, nor struck, nor did anything of the kind. Tell me what will be my fate?" He replied: "Thou hast done well by abstaining from similar acts. Be no longer present on such occasions." Then he produced two loaves whiter than snow, which we consumed together. On that occasion he looked around in the desert, when a she-camel suddenly made her appearance and halted in front of him. When he was about to mount, I said: "O prophet of Allah! I should like to accompany thee." He rejoined: "That is not possible." I continued: "I have no bag or baggage." He continued: "Thy wish cannot be fulfilled." He added: "My intention is to remain in constant prayer at the Holy

[32] These individuals are known also by the name of *Abdâls*.

House [in Jerusalem] during the [Lent] month Ramazân." He then mounted the camel, and disappeared from my sight.'

HIS PERSONAL DESCRIPTION, LAW, SOJOURN, AND HIS PEOPLE.

It is said that his blessed person was slender, his stature tall, and his hair curled. The skin of his precious body was hard, and he was always dressed in woollen garments. His religion was that of Mûsa, and he acted according to the Mosaic Law.

He mostly dwelt in deserts and wildernesses, to assist and guide those who were fatigued or had lost their way, and to direct them to the road of salvation. It is said that every year on the Azha-feast[33] he meets the lord Khizer in the mosque of Qabba, where they regulate the devotions of the people.

It is related that after his lordship had departed from the people a tyrannical king governed them, and extirpated the whole nation with the sword, stringing the pearls of life of those rebels with the strokes of the diamond-coloured scimetar upon the thread of annihilation, because the commands of God are fore-ordained. As the length of the mission of Eliâs is not known, and he never ceased to live, nothing can be said on these points. Allah is most wise!

RECORD OF ELISA' [ELISHA], THE SON OF AKHTÛT.[34]

Elisa' was a prophet, the successor of the lord Eliâs, of high dignity, and enjoying full authority among the children of Esrâil. The Jews allege that he was engaged in ploughing and cultivating the ground, when Eliâs was informed one day by divine revelation to appoint him his successor. Accordingly he accosted Elisa' whilst engaged in his usual avocation and threw his mantle upon him,[35] which produced such an effect that he immediately stepped

[33] This is celebrated on the 10th of the last month of the year.
[34] Son of Shaphat 1 Kings, ch. xix 19.
[35] *Ibid.* 'and cast his mantle upon him.'

forward and said: 'If thou wilt permit, I shall take leave of my parents, be at thy service, and follow thee.' Elias asked: 'What have I done that thou sayest this? And what hast thou seen of me?' Elisa's wish to serve him increased—a ray of divine light was shining in his breast; he quickly broke up his agricultural instruments, killed his ox for a sacrifice, distributed its meat as alms, joined Eliâs, and accompanied him wherever he went; until at last, after Eliâs, he governed the people of Esrâil, read the Mosaic Law to them, explained and revived the ordinances of the religion of Mûsa. He was in the habit of fasting during the day, and keeping vigils in the night. He also worked numerous miracles, some of which are as follows: The inhabitants of Ariha [Jericho] complained of the saltness of their water, whereon he took a lump of salt, threw it into the water, and said: 'Be thou sweet, by the permission of the Most High.' The water then immediately became sweet like honey. On another occasion a widow complained of her poverty, of the indebtedness of her late husband, and of the taking away of her children by creditors. His lordship asked: 'What hast thou in thy house?' She replied: 'I have but one potful of oil.' Elisa' said: 'Pour that oil into one vessel, and from that again into another.' The woman did as she was bidden, and the oil became so abundant that the vessels could not hold it, so that at last all the inhabitants filled their jugs with oil.[36] In this manner her debts were paid, and she became perfectly comfortable. Once he alighted at the house of a man whose wife was barren, and by his request Elisa' implored the Almighty, who then presented the master of the house with a pious son; the infant, however, having shortly afterwards died, he begged his lordship to resuscitate him, which request was also granted. On another occasion his disciples were preparing some food, one of whom threw some coloquinth into it by mistake; a voice, however, immediately issued from the food, saying: 'Whoever eats of these victuals will die.'[37] As soon as

[36] 2 Kings, ch. iv. 1-7. [37] *Ibid.*, ch. iv. 40.

his lordship had been apprised of this [warning] he poured some flour and water into the pot, uttered an invocation, whereon all ate of the food and no injury ensued.[38] He was in the habit of instructing the children of Esrâil about the intentions of their antagonists, and in the art of war, to enable them to fight any enemy with full confidence, so that one of the kings who opposed them said to his courtiers: 'I do not know who is informing those people about our designs, and who divulges among them our secrets.' They replied: 'News concerning future events and hidden affairs are the business of the prophet Elisa'.' The king was incensed with wrath, and started with a numerous army to attack the children of Esrâil, and suddenly took Elisa' prisoner; but his lordship prayed that the eyes of his enemies might become void of the ornament of light, which having taken place, he escaped from the grasp of the foes of the religion.[39] On another occasion some guests arrived at the house of Elisa', whereon he ordered his servant to bring forth the table, but the menial replied: 'There are more than one hundred guests, and only twenty loaves.'[40] The prophet replied: 'They will all become satiated, and the breads will remain as they are.' The servant then produced the loaves, and though the guests ate abundantly, no diminution of the food could be perceived. The king of Damascus having been afflicted with the distemper of leprosy, despatched a message to one of the wise men of Esrâil, requesting him to send a skilful physician. Elisa' was applied to, and he said that it would be necessary for the king to enter a river, in order to get rid of the disease. The messenger returned disappointed and reported the answer to the king, [who demurred to the proposal]; the intelligent among his people, however, advised him that it would at any rate be incumbent upon him to make a trial. The king accordingly entered the water and bathed, and when he came out of it the malady had totally

[38] 2 Kings, ch. iv. 41.
[39] *Ibid.*, ch. vi. 18: 'And he smote them with blindness,' etc.
[40] 2 Kings, ch. iv. 43.

disappeared. The king was so happy that he sent costly garments and purses full of gold to Elisa'. His lordship would accept nothing, but his servant was so greedy that he went in pursuit of the messenger, and took two purses of gold from him.[41] At that moment Elisa' became aware of what had taken place, and cursed his servant, who thereon became afflicted with the complaint of the King of Damascus. Once there happened to be a great dearth and famine in Syria, because an army from various sides had congregated to besiege the children of Esrâil. On that occasion Elisa' said to the people: 'To-morrow corn will be so cheap that everyone will be astonished; and victuals will be sold at a very low price.[42] The chamberlain of the king laughed, and said: 'If God—w. n. b. pr.—opens windows in the sky and pours down corn from them, cheapness will not take place.'[43] Elisa' replied: 'Thou wilt see it, but not eat of it.' The next morning the enemies heard the clashing of arms, the neighing of horses, and the fighting of champions,[44] whereon all fled without any visible cause. The children of Esrâil having thus been delivered from the confinement of the siege, hastened out of the town, took possession of all the provisions of the enemy, and found them to be so abundant that they did not take them all. A crowd happened to meet the chamberlain who had scoffed, and slew him in the most ignominious manner.[45] When the death of Elisa' was near at hand he informed the king of the period thereof; he also told him that he would thrice conquer the army of Egypt, and this prediction was likewise fulfilled. Several historians narrate, that, besides the above miracles, he also worked many others, to mention which would [unduly] lengthen this narrative. As the children of Esrâil sometimes obeyed, and at others resisted, him, he became weary [of life], so that at last he prayed to the Lord of Magnificence to be received into higher society, and into

[41] 2 Kings, ch. v. 20-27.
[42] *Ibid.*, ch. vii. 1.
[43] *Ibid.*, ch. vii. 2.
[44] *Ibid.*, ch. vii. 6.
[45] *Ibid.*, ch. vii. 17.

the company of prophets. After this request had been granted he called for Zulkefl, appointed him his successor, and his precious soul was conveyed to the Lord of both worlds.

Record of the Prophet Zulkefl.

Divines are at variance concerning the personality of Zulkefl. Some allege that he was Hazkil, others that he was Bashir, the son of Aiûb the patient, whose original name was Bashar. The most correct opinion, however, is that he was the successor of Elisa', and that Hazkil, as well as Bashar, the son of Aiûb, whose cognomen was likewise Zulkefl, were his predecessors.

It is related in the *Asdl Lama'a* that he obtained the above epithet because he *stood security*,[46] and pledged himself to Elisa' to induce the children of Esrâil to follow his direction and guidance in studying the Mosaic Law and its commandments. Others state that he was called by this name because he was a courtier of one of the kings of Syria, whose favour he enjoyed in a high degree. This king, having entertained great enmity towards the children of Esrâil, invaded their country on several occasions, captured many, and slew them. Once he sent a division of his brave warriors to attack the children of Esrâil, and after a severe struggle they took nearly one hundred of the learned, the pious, and the great among the Jews, prisoners, and sent them to the king, who desired to exterminate them all. Zulkefl, however, immediately waited upon the king and hindered the execution, saying: 'It is now late [in the evening], and the time to carry out the judgment has elapsed. If your majesty will entrust this company to my keeping I shall be *security*, and pledge myself to produce them all on the place of execution in the morning.' The king then ordered them to be delivered to Zulkefl, who took the children of Esrâil to his house, relieved them of their yokes and fetters, treated them

[46] The original word of the text is *Kefil*—'Guarantor.' He is also mentioned in the Qurân, ch. xxi. 85.

honourably and hospitably, but dismissed them after the repast at midnight. Thus the prisoners escaped from their enemies. Zulkefl, who likewise withdrew himself from the responsibility to, and reproach of, the king, was from that day called by the above cognomen, and exalted, on account of that noble deed, to the dignity of a prophet, thus reaching the highest point of messengership [or apostleship].

Sadr-ud-din Esfahâni narrates in his *Muntahab-ul-Ma'arif* that the Almighty—w. n. b. e.—sent Zulkefl to one of the A'mâlekite kings, whose name was Kana'an, for the purpose of inviting him to receive the Faith. The king replied: 'I am conscious of having committed great crimes, and perpetrated many unrighteous acts; but as thou wantest me to accept the religion, I need a proof that my transgressions will be overlooked after my death, and that I shall attain the bliss of paradise. How could I otherwise know whether my profession of religion has been accepted or not?' Zulkefl agreed to this, and wrote a certificate of *security*, which he surrendered to him.[47] The king then retired from the world and engaged in devotions; *when he died the above writing was interred with him*; the Most High—w. n. b. e.—accepted the *security* of Zulkefl, and conveyed the said king to the upper regions of paradise, and to the mansions of grace. Many who had seen the writing when the king was about to be buried bore testimony to the prophetic dignity of Zulkefl, were converted, and became Musalmâns; he therefore also gave *security* to all of them, that they would attain paradise and the company of Hûris and slaves, whereafter this title adhered to him for all time to come. When the period of his departure had arrived, he was, in the company of exalted angels and noble spirits, translated to the highest

[47] The Greek Patriarch of Constantinople sells certificates of this kind, which are written on parchment, and placed inside the coffin of the deceased. In Bombay the chief high-priest of the Muhammadan sect of Bhoras is said to do so likewise, and to allot a certain number of palm, plantain, and other trees, with various articles, to the deceased, to be enjoyed by him in conformity with the price paid. This document is attached to the arm of the corpse.

regions of paradise. His body was interred in a region of Syria.

Verses: This is the way and custom of the world,
It can stop no one from being fugitive.
Countless numbers have guided thus,
The end of numbers has never reached us.

RECORD OF THE PROPHET SHAMUIL [SAMUEL].

During the time of his prophecy A'ali [Eli]—u. w. b., etc.—was Emâm. The children of Esrâil had become weak; party-strife and divisions prevailed among them; they were overpowered by their antagonists and enemies who wished to extirpate them; accordingly the A'mâlekites pillaged them and slew them whenever they could. They even took possession of the ark of tranquillity, and conveyed it to their own country[48] with four hundred descendants of prophets and princes, and imposed a tax upon those whom their swords had spared. The Jews, therefore, addressed their prayers to the Lord of Magnificence, and asked for an inspired prophet or messenger by whose aid and guidance they might get rid of the calamity of their enemies, abolish the customs imposed upon them by their oppressors, and utterly expel them by routing them in battle.

At that time no one was left of the family of prophets except the Emâm A'ali, and a barren woman of the name of Hanna,[49] whose husband was Helkan, of the tribe of Lâvi. When it was time to go on pilgrimage and to circumambulate the Holy House [of Jerusalem], both of them entered together the sanctuary where they offered their supplications, that a son worthy of the dignity of a prophet might be vouchsafed unto them. On that occasion the Emâm A'ali was sitting on the chair of Emâmship, heard their groanings, and assisted them likewise with his own prayers, which the Lord of Grandeur answered. Helkan then returned home with his spouse, and Hanna

[48] 1 Samuel, ch. iv. 11: 'And the ark of God was taken.'
[49] *Ibid.*, ch. i. 2.

became that very night pregnant with Shamuil. When that infant was born, and the time of sucking had elapsed, she brought Shamuil to A'ali, whose service he entered, and was engaged in doing duty in the Holy House, in devotions, and in the study of the Mosaic Law, until the time when he received his mission.

It is related that one night, when he was in a state between waking and sleeping, he heard someone calling out to him. He thought it was the Emâm A'ali, arose, and hastened to him,[50] but the latter told him to return to his place. The call was, however, thrice repeated to Shamuil, who went to A'ali, but the latter ordered him, if he again heard the voice, to remain in his place, to answer, and quickly to report what he had heard. When Shamuil heard the voice for the fourth time he said: 'I hear and obey.'[51] Then the allocution of the Almighty was addressed to him as follows: 'O excellent servant of the Lord of Glory:

Verses: Be certain that in this garden blooms
A flower, and, like thee, no other will bloom;
From My bounty I granted thee dominion,
Namely, the boast and glory of prophecy.
I have appointed it to guide thy knowledge;
I have raised thy banner to the mission.
Go now to the Emâm A'ali,
Report to him these words:
The Lord asks thee, oh erring man,
Why neglectest thou the way of God?
The prophetic office has been given to thee,
Superiority over others bestowed upon thee,
To execute the orders and commands,
And not to omit one iota of them,
Not to veil the way of truth in the faith,
Not to be partial in thy prayers.
Now to please thy sons,
For thy dignity and connection,
Why hast thou concealed the true way?
Why hast thou striven to change the law?
Since thou knowest not their acts,
Why hast thou complied with them?
So that at last malice and vanity became dear,
The professors of truth and intelligence became base,

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[50] 1 Samuel, ch. iii.

[51] *Ibid.*, ch. iii. 10: 'Then Samuel answered, Speak, for Thy servant heareth.'

Piety and rectitude became hidden like the A'nqa,[52]
Wickedness became overt and tyranny,
Straightness has departed from the world,
Hook and crook have taken its place.
Thy covenant with Me was not thus,
That thou shouldst rule the world thus.
As thou hast accounted My orders lightly,
Hast allowed fluctuation more or less,
Hast receded from My commands,
Hast ventured to sin against Me,
I shall now depive thee of thy office,
And shall take vengeance of thee afterwards.
For, everyone who hears My injunctions,
His ears tingle from awe of them.
By My eternity and magnificence [I swear],
By My acts, attributes, and names,
By the mystery revealed by My power,
By the light produced by My wisdom,
By My glory and magnificence, which are eternal,
By My kingdom free from decay,
That I shall take away this royalty from thee ,
I shall take thy life of sorrow.
The sins committed by thy children,
For which they are called by the name of rebels ;
I shall not forgive them their deeds,
Nor accept their penitence and wailing ;
I shall not pass over their transgressions ;
I shall not glance at their groans or sacrifices ,
I shall so leave them in the world,
That they may be an eternal example to it.

After this the allocution ceased, Shamuil went to the Emâm A'ali and informed him of the contents ; A'ali, however, resigned himself to his fate, saying : 'To Allah belongs the government of the past and the future! He is the most just of the just !'

In that year, which was the fortieth of Shamuil's age, the Emâm A'ali was with his children removed from the perishable to the imperishable abode, and the government of the people of Esrâil as well as the prophetic dignity devolved upon Shamuil. After he had administered both these offices during ten years, he transferred the affairs of his people to his son Yuâil ;[53] but as in those days the Jews had fallen into an extremely weak condition, and their affairs were retrograding, they came in great numbers to Shamuil, and

[52] Name of a fabulous bird.
[53] 1 Samuel, ch viii. 2 : 'The name of his first-born was Joel.'

asked him to appoint a judge over them[54] who would be able to repel their enemies, to remove their difficulties, and should at the same time excel his contemporaries in strength and valour. After Shamuil had made the necessary contracts and covenants, he besought the Most High to grant their prayers, and after he had obtained certainty of compliance with his request, he told the nation that their king would neither be a descendant of prophets nor of a royal dynasty, and that his name would be Shâuk [Saul]. It is said that as in those times the prophetic dignity was confined to the tribe of Lâvi and royalty to the children of Yahuda, and as Tâlut, who was also called Shâuk, belonged to the tribe of Ebn Yamin, some of the children of Esrâil were startled by the information, and said: 'How can a man like him become a king, and how can he be worthy of the royal dignity? for we have a better right to it than he.' Shamuil replied: 'God is most just and most wise! Royalty belongs to Him, and He bestows it upon whom He likes, and takes it away from whom He likes. It is evident the gifts of God are not granted to anyone who does not merit them.' [It is said in the Qurân] 'Thou givest the kingdom to whom Thou wilt, and deprivest thereof whom Thou wilt.' At last the people assented and queried what would be the signs of his [selection for the] royal dignity? Shamuil replied: 'When he comes the ark of tranquillity will [also] make its appearance, and the holy oil will increase and ferment.' The next day the children of Esrâil were sitting around the ark of testimony and the holy temple, being engaged in the discussion of the affairs of the kingdom, as well as preparation of the means for fighting and repelling the emeny. On that occasion Shâuk all of a sudden stepped in among them, and the holy oil, which was in the keeping of the prophets, and was preserved in one of the horns of the cow of Mûsa, commenced to boil. Shamuil then called out to Shâuk, holding a staff in his hand which was equal to him in height. This staff he placed in contact with the

[54] 1 Samuel, ch. viii. 5.

[illegible] of Shâuk, and found it to be precisely of the same length. Then he poured some oil upon the head of Tâlut [i.e., Shâuk; i.e., Saul] and declared him to be the king of the children of Esrâil.[55] The assembly of the people congratulated him on his having attained the royal dignity, and the ark of tranquillization, described in these pages in the account of Mûsa—u. w. b., etc.—was produced. Then everyone became convinced of Shâuk's royal dignity and the government of the children of Esrâil devolved upon him.

Record of Shâuk's [Saul's] War with Kaliath [Goliath].

The origin of this event is that the Philistines had stretched forth the hand of enmity against the children of Esrâil, in the time of the prophets Emâm A'ali and Shamuil, and had completely overpowered them. Kaliath [Goliath], who is in Arabic called Jalût, attacked them several times, robbed and plundered them. After slaying the men and making the women prisoners, he imposed a tribute upon those who were spared by the sword. Therefore the children of Esrâil made great efforts during the reign of Tâlut [*i.e.*, Saul], to remove this calamity, made it their principal business to expel the unbelieving A'mâlekites, and to avenge themselves upon them. They placed eighty thousand warriors at the disposal of Shâuk [*i.e.*, Saul],[56] who invaded with them the country of Jalût [Goliath]. When the latter was informed of the approach of the army, he quickly got the ammunitions of war ready, and hastened to meet his antagonists. As Shamuil had, however, apprised Tâlut [Saul] that but a small portion of his army would obey him in all things, and that the others would rebel against him, and had given him the required information concerning the desert, its burning sun, the calamity of thirst, and the manner how to quench

[55] 1 Samuel, ch. x. 1.
[56] *Ibid.*, ch. xi. 8. The children of Israel were 300,000, and the men of Judah 30,000.

it, therefore Tâlut [Saul] harangued his army as soon as it had entered the desert, saying: 'The great heat of the sun will distress you, and thirst will overpower you in this desert. But when you arrive near water, be careful not to drink more than one draught, because whoever consumes more than he needs, or takes some away to preserve it, will incur the wrath of the Almighty—w. n. b. pr.—his thirst will not be quenched, and he will have no share in the great victory.' The warriors promised to obey his injunction, and marched on their expedition; but when they issued from the desert, and met, between Filisteen and Ardan, a river, which had been promised by his lordship the prophet, the majority, being extremely thirsty, leapt into the water, and the majority of the army was unable to restrain itself. Everyone who took one draught was satisfied, but whoever drank more, or wished to make a provision, remained thirsty as before. Tâlut then marched with four thousand of the obedient against Jalût; seventy-six thousand men, however, who had rebelled, lagged behind. Jalût encountered Tâlut with one hundred thousand swordsmen, and when the Esrâilites approached the army of Jalût, they exclaimed: 'To-day we have no strength to contend with Jalût and his host.' And most of them abandoned Tâlut. It is said that of the four thousand not more than three hundred and thirteen men remained with him, thus equalling the army of Bedr.[57] This company, however, marched in accordance with the verse, 'How often have the few conquered the many!' and intended to attack Jalût. Tâlut then drew up his warriors—who were distinguished by bravery among their contemporaries—in battle-array, and invoked the Lord of Self-existence, saying: 'Lord! grant us patience, strengthen our footing, and cause us to vanquish the infidel nation!' When Jalût perceived the smallness of Tâlut's army, he was ashamed to attack in battle-array

[57] Three hundred and nineteen is the number of men usually given with whom Muhammad gained the victory at Bedr. Sale's Qurân, ch. iii. 11, and footnote.

a company of three hundred and thirteen individuals, therefore he determined to challenge the sons of Esrâil to single combat. He mounted a piebald horse, armed himself, entered the battle-field, and invited Tâlut to come forward to fight him, or, if he could not do so, to send someone else with whom he might measure his strength. Hereupon Tâlut caused a herald to shout the following words: 'Whoever will fight Jalût in single combat, and will conquer him, shall obtain my daughter for a wife, and shall govern my country.' Though these words were often repeated, no one answered, from awe of the prowess and strength of Jalût, he being an extremely powerful and valiant infidel who had no rival. At last Dâud—u. w. b., etc.—stepped forth, offered himself to fight Jalût, and stood on the battle-field like a furious lion.

RECORD OF THE PUBLIC LIFE OF DÂUD [DAVID], THE SON OF AISHA.[58] HIS GOING TO FIGHT JALÛT, WITH HIS HAPPY AND VICTORIOUS RETURN FROM THE BATTLE-FIELD.

Dâud was a prophet and a descendant of Yahuda, the son of Ya'qûb. According to a tradition, Aisha had thirteen sons, the youngest of whom was Dâud, and also the smallest in stature. By the advice of his father he always carried about a sling, a bag full of stones, and a shepherd's staff. It is related that one day he said to his father: 'Everything which the stone of my sling hits is killed.' Aisha said: 'It appears that God—w. n. b. e.—has appointed thy fortune to depend upon thy sling.' On another occasion Dâud said: 'I have in yonder dale seen, in a vision, a lion who was tame. I mounted him, took him by the ears, and he obeyed me.' His father replied: 'It appears that the Gracious Lord will subject a man of high station to thy power.' On another occasion he said to his father: 'When I am walking about in the mountains, and praising God,

[58] 1 Samuel, ch. xvii. 12: 'Jesse.'

they likewise do so.'[50] Aisha replied: 'This is good news, for the boundless and disinterested Bestower will grant thee benefits and signs.'

Several historians have related that when Tâlut was ordered to wage war against Jalût, Shamuil had received the divine revelation that one of the sons of Aisha would slay Jalût, and that if the horn containing the holy oil were placed upon his head it would flow out, and become stationary thereon, in the form of a diadem; and that a certain cuirass would fit his body, being neither too small nor too large for it. Shamuil then went to the house of Aisha, who presented to him his twelve sons. They were all young, well-shaped, and beautiful. One, however, being superior to all the others in freshness, height, and strength, Shamuil imagined that this youth would probably become the destroyer of Jalût, but the following Divine allocution reached him: 'O Shamuil! thou selectest the people according to their comeliness and beauty; I, however, choose my servants according to the purity of their hearts.' Shamuil prayed, and said: 'O Lord, I have tried the sons of Aisha, and have not found among them the promised individual.' Then the revelation came: 'He has yet another son, and to whom that important matter will be entrusted.' Shamuil then said to Aisha: 'Produce also thy last son.' The father replied: 'I have no other son.' Shamuil continued: 'The Lord, who knows what is patent and what is concealed, has informed me that thou hast another son.' Aisha said: 'I have a little son, but on account of his small stature, blue eyes, and want of beauty, I do not consider him to be a man. Now he is engaged in yonder place pasturing the sheep.' Shamuil went to the locality, arrived in a valley abundantly provided with water, and there perceived Dâud, taking up two sheep at a time and crossing the water with them. Shamuil now perceived by the light of prophecy that in this individual the promise would be fulfilled. He therefore accosted Dâud with a

[50] This may have been an echo of the mountains.

[illegible] placed the above-mentioned oil on his head,[60] and dressed him in the coat of mail; the former overflowed its vessel, fixed itself on the youth's head in the shape of a crown, and the latter perfectly fitted his august body. After that Shamuil asked Dâud whether he had in these days experienced anything strange. He replied: 'One of these days I heard a stone saying: "O Dâud! I am the stone of Harûn; with me he has killed such and such an enemy. Take me up, for I shall be of use to thee." From another stone I also heard the following words: "I am the stone of Mûsa; with me he has slain such and such an enemy." In the same manner I heard also another stone say: "I am the stone of Dâud, and by means of me he will kill Jalût." Then the two other stones again said: "We shall assist thee to kill Jalût." His own stone then said: "When thou meetest Jalût place me into thy sling, throw me at him, and I shall prostrate him;" and when I placed these three stones into my bag they became one stone.' When Shamuil had heard these words, he said: 'Be of good cheer, Dâud, because the royal and the prophetic dignity of the people of Esrâil has fallen to thy share; thou must, however, conceal this information, and reveal it to no one.'

Some accredited historians have, however, narrated this story in their books in another manner, informing us that Aisha had with his twelve sons been in the army of Tâlut, and that Dâud was preparing some food, when he was all of a sudden addressed by a stone as follows: 'O Dâud, take me up! I am the stone of Esahâq, and by my assistance he has killed such and such an enemy; I shall slay also Jalût.' Dâud took it up and placed it into his bag, but after he had walked a few steps he heard another voice from a stone as follows: 'O Dâud, take me up! I am the stone of Ya'qûb; he has killed such and such an enemy with me.' This stone he likewise took, and placed it near the first one. After a short while he again heard a voice from another stone, thus: 'O Dâud, take me up! for I am

[60] 1 Samuel, ch. xvi. 13.

the stone of Ebrahim. By means of me he has killed his enemies.' Dâud then picked up this stone also and placed it in his bag. When he arrived in the camp he perceived a herald, who shouted: 'The king says, Whoever will come forward and slay Jalût in single combat shall obtain my daughter for a spouse, and become my partner in the government.' After hearing these words Dâud said to his brothers: 'Why does not one of you attack Jalût, and kill him, and become the son-in-law of the king?' His brothers replied: 'Thou art but a senseless fool, and therefore thou speakest thus! Knowest thou not that no one is able to meet and to fight Jalût?' Dâud rejoined: 'I shall enter the lists with Jalût, and slay him.' His brothers replied: 'Be silent! for thou art void of the ornament of intellect.' Dâud then approached the herald without the leave of his brothers, and said: 'Inform the king that I am the man who will attack Jalût, and will exterminate him' The herald went to the foot of Tâlut's throne and informed him that no one had accepted the challenge to fight Jalût, except a boy of the children of Esrâil. The king then ordered Dâud to be brought forward, and examined his lordship, who replied: 'O king, if thou wilt keep thy promise, I shall this moment conquer Jalût and his army!' Tâlut, being astonished at this offer, asked: 'How wilt thou, who hast a despicable body and a weak stature, obtain the strength to resist Jalût, who is a valorous man of strong body?[61] Hast thou ever tried to strike or pierce?' He replied: 'When I was pasturing the sheep sometimes a wild beast, such as a lion or tiger, attacked my flock, but I tore the body of my enemy to pieces by the strength of my fist without the assistance of sword or knife.' When Tâlut perceived that Dâud was determined to fight Jalût he provided him with a horse and cuirass, and sent him to attack Jalût. It is said that this coat of mail was the same which Shamuil had given to Tâlut, with the information that he whom it fitted perfectly would kill Jalût; and

[61] 1 Samuel, ch. xvii. 33: For thou art but a youth, and he a man of war from his youth.'

as it suited Dâud excellently, Tâlut was greatly pleased. After that sublime youth had mounted the horse and had progressed a few paces, he returned, alighted, and sent the horse with the cuirass to the king, who with his courtiers then imagined that the boy was awed by Jalût, and had repented of his intention to fight him. Tâlut accordingly called Dâud, and asked why he had returned the horse and the arms. His prophetic lordship, however, replied: 'I am not accustomed to fight with accoutrements and arms.[62] If you will allow me I shall enter the lists in my own way, and shall fight in that manner.' The king said: 'Take thy choice.' Therefore Dâud went with his sling, bag, and staff to meet Jalût, who asked him for what purpose he had come. Dâud replied: 'I have come to fight and to kill thee.' Jalût asked by way of sarcasm: 'With what arms wilt thou fight me? Strike me with all thy might with this staff.'[63] Dâud pointed to his sling, and after some conversation put his blessed hand into the bag and drew forth the three stones which had become one, placed them into the sling, projected them at Jalût and opened his mouth, praising the Benign Sovereign. On that occasion the angels, beasts, birds, and trees united with him in magnifying God,[64] so that the whole universe resounded. The enemies heard terrible voices; fear and trembling overwhelmed their hearts, and a vehement storm commenced to blow, which took off the helmet from Jalût's unhallowed head, though, according to tradition, it weighed one hundred and twenty pounds. The stone [thrown by Dâud] was in the air divided into three pieces, one of which struck the forehead of Jalût, passed through the brain, came out at the back of his head, and he fell from his horse. The remaining [two] stones sped towards the right and the left [flank of the army], and the opponents of the religion were put to flight, the children of Esrâil

[62] 1 Samuel, ch. xvii. 39: 'I cannot go with these; for I have not proved them.'

[63] *Ibid.* 43: 'And the Philistine said unto David, Am I a dog, that thou comest to me with staves?'

[64] By shouting *Allahu-akbar*—'Allah is greatest.'

pursuing them with the pitiless sword. Dâud approached the corpse of Jalût, separated its head from the body, and brought it to Tâlut,[65] throwing it to the ground in front of him. The adherents of monotheism greatly rejoiced, and returned victoriously to their own country. After the expiration of a few days Dâud requested Tâlut to fulfil his promise; as the king had already repented thereof he was displeased with the words of Dâud, but nevertheless said to him: 'I am determined to keep my word, but the marriage portion of my daughter is quite different from that of other persons, and consists of something particular.' Dâud inquired what it was to be, and Tâlut replied: 'Thou must cut out the tongues of three hundred men of the enemies of my exalted monarchy and must bring them here, that I may give thee my daughter.' Tâlut spoke thus, because he imagined Dâud would be unable to fulfil this condition, and would be slain in the attempt to comply therewith. When, however, Dâud heard these words he started on a warlike expedition, whereon he put to flight an army as numerous as locusts; he also took many captives, and having cut out the tongues of three hundred of them, brought them to Tâlut, who was nevertheless reluctant to fulfil his agreement with Dâud, until the elders of the children of Esrâil, with Shamuil, went to Tâlut and reproached him greatly, whereon he was under the necessity of bestowing one of the inmates of his chamber of modesty for a consort upon the Lord Dâud, whose praises were in the mouths of the high and the low, so that all the children of Esrâil obeyed and loved him; but for this reason the flames of envy were kindled in the breast of Tâlut;[66] as long, however, as Shamuil was alive, he felt restrained from giving vent to his ire, but after the demise of his lordship, the king said to one of his sons: 'Slay Dâud,[67] because I fear the dominion and government will be trans-

[65] 1 Samuel, ch. xvii. 54.

[66] *Ibid.*, ch. xviii. 9: 'And Saul eyed David from that day and forward.'

[67] *Ibid.*, ch. xix. 1: 'And Saul spoke to Jonathan his son, and to all his servants, that they should kill David.'

ferred from our to his family.' The son objected, saying: 'How could we act thus, considering the obligations under which we are toward Dâud?' This remark, however, proved to be useless, and the father persisted in his wrath and rancour; therefore the son informed his sister that the king intended to kill David, and that she was to warn the latter to be on his guard. After that Tâlut consulted his intimate ministers concerning the murder of Dâud, and they assured him that it might be easily accomplished with the assistance of Dâud's wife. Tâlut accordingly hastened to the house of his beloved daughter, and said to her: 'Thy father has a wish which may be fulfilled with thy aid and co-operation.' The daughter asked: 'What is it, that I may employ my best efforts to accomplish thy will?' The king said: 'It is the murder of thy husband Dâud.' The daughter answered: 'I dread, lest Dâud become aware of thy intention, and, girding the loins of enmity, destroy thee.' Tâlut rejoined: 'Thou lovest thy consort more than me, and therefore thou agreest not with me to remove him.' The daughter continued: 'By a stratagem we may attempt to destroy Dâud, and I shall inform your majesty when the first opportunity presents itself.' After hearing these words, Tâlut departed joyfully to his castle; that faithful wife, however, informed her husband of the danger, and put him on his guard; and with his approbation she placed shortly afterwards a leather bag, equal to him in length and full of wine, into his bed on a certain night, dressed in the garments of his lordship.[69] Then she hastened to her father, and said: 'I have given much wine to Dâud; now he is asleep in his bed.' It is said that in their religion the drinking of wine was not forbidden. As soon as Tâlut had received the above information he rejoiced at the opportunity, approached the couch of David with an excellent sword, and struck it with such force that he cut the garments and the leather bag in twain, so that a few drops of wine were squirted into the face of Tâlut, and he exclaimed: 'May Allah have mercy on Dâud for-

[69] 1 Samuel, ch. xix. 13.

having been so intemperate in drinking wine.' There are various traditions that the repentance of Tâlut dated from this act, whilst according to others he never repented at all, but according to some he did so near the end of his life; some of these only will be narrated, lest this recital should become too long.

Some say that as Tâlut imagined he had slain Dâud he immediately repented, and intended to commit suicide by throwing himself on his own sword; his daughter, however, hindered him, and asked for the motive of such a rash deed? Tâlut answered: 'I repent having killed Dâud, and as I know the children of Esrâil will slay me in return, and that I have incurred the wrath of the Mighty Avenger, I shall kill myself with my own hand as an expiation for my crime.' When the daughter beheld the weeping and distress of her father, she said: 'Be not dismayed, for Dâud is alive.' Tâlut then went aside, and his daughter called Dâud, who issued from his hiding-place and said to Tâlut: 'I knew that Satan had seduced thee to commit this act; I forgive thee, but if God punishes thee for it I shall not be responsible.

It is narrated according to accredited traditions, that when Tâlut imagined he had slain Dâud, he returned from his daughter's house to his own castle, and sat down with a relieved mind. The night after this event, Dâud—u. w. b., etc.—came to the couch of Tâlut, and fixed one of his arrows at the head, and another at the foot of it, as well as a third arrow on the left side thereof; then he immediately departed. When it was morning Tâlut awoke from his sleep, recognised the arrows, and knew that Dâud was alive. He then heaved a deep sigh from his sorrowful heart, and said: 'The Almighty will pardon Dâud because he is more noble-minded and better than myself, because I have, with the intention of overcoming him, causelessly meditated his death, and he, who, after this my crime, has overcome me, nevertheless spared my life.'

After this event Dâud kept himself concealed, and roamed about secretly in the town and the desert, but the

spouse of his lordship spread the rumour of her husband's death among the people. It is related that one day Tâlut discovered Dâud in the plain, and tried to overtake him on horseback; the latter, however, with whom [even] the ambling nag of the sphere was unable to cope in celerity, began to run, and disappeared from the sight of the tyrant, obtaining refuge in a cave, over the entrance of which a spider had, by divine command, stretched her net at that very moment. A short time afterwards Tâlut reached the cavern, but, seeing the cobweb, returned disappointed and hopeless. After that he sent spies in pursuit of Dâud, but, attracted by these and similar blameworthy deeds, the Jewish divines and priests then prohibited him from injuring Dâud. For this reason Tâlut was overpowered with anger, and issued orders for the extermination of the nobles of the kingdom. The ignorant, who were constantly boasting of their enmity towards the learned, then killed them wherever they could find them. They went even so far as to bring a woman who possessed some instruction, and to whom the ineffable name of God—whose majesty be magnified—had been revealed, into the presence of Tâlut, who delivered her to an official for execution; he, however, unwilling to carry out the sentence upon the unfortunate woman, concealed her in his house. Some time afterwards Tâlut repented of his deeds, became penitent, wandered every night into cemeteries with wailings and lamentations, saying: 'Who knows whether the repentance of a disobedient servant like myself has been accepted or not?' Then he heard a voice as follows: 'O Tâlut, thou hast done what thou hast done, and hast taken mortal vengeance on the learned and the priests of the children of Esrâil; now, however, thou hast come to distress us, and allowest not the dead to take their rest! How is it that the living and the dead are suffering at thy hands?' The grief and sorrow of Tâlut were augmented by these words, so that he was in agonies of distress. The above-mentioned official, being moved by pity for him, once asked: 'What is ailing thee, O king?'

He answered: 'I repent of my crimes, but I know not whether my penitence is accepted or not. If thou knowest one learned man who has been left alive in the realm, lead me to him, that we may inquire from him concerning the truth of the case.' The official replied: 'Thy case is like that of the king who arrived in his travels at a village where a cock was crowing at an improper time. The potentate became angry, and issued orders to kill all the cocks in that village, which were duly executed. At bed-time the king said: "Awaken me when the cock crows, that we may depart from this place." One of the courtiers, however, said: "O king! this is impossible, because in thy wrath thou hast not left one single cock alive, that we might awaken thee by his crowing."' The anxiety of Tâlut increased at these words, and after he had made a solemn promise to the official that he would hereafter not commit any such deeds, the latter informed him that the woman whom he had formerly ordered to be killed was yet alive. Tâlut then met her and asked her whether his repentance had been accepted or rejected? The old woman replied: 'I do not know; we will, however, go to the tomb of Shamuil, and may possibly obtain a reply there concerning this important matter.' Accordingly Tâlut went with the old woman and the official to the sepulchre of Shamuil, where she offered her prayers, and, craving intercession through the ineffable name, said: 'O tenant of this grave, come forth from it by the permission of the Most High!' Shamuil then arose from the sepulchre, shook off the dust from his head, face, and body, manifested his astonishment on beholding these three persons, and asked: 'Has perchance the day of the resurrection dawned?' They replied: 'No. But Tâlut has a great matter in hand, by which he is greatly troubled. He desires to inquire from thee whether his repentance is accepted or not.'[69] Shamuil asked: 'O Tâlut, what hast thou committed after my decease?' He replied: 'O pro-

[69] 1 Samuel, ch. xxviii. 15: 'And Saul answered, I am sore distressed,' etc.

plant of Allah! there is no blameworthy act which I have not committed.' Then he narrated all he had done. Shamuil asked: 'How many sons hast thou?' He replied: 'I have ten brave and valiant children.' Shamuil continued: 'Thy penitence will be accepted if thou consentest to abdicate royalty, to abandon the government, and to engage in a religious war, together with thy sons, until they are killed before thee, and thou quaffest the unsavoury beverage of their calamity. After that thou must fight until thou likewise attainest the dignity of martyrdom.[70] If thou doest all I have told thee, it is possible that the Lord Most High will pardon thee, and will have mercy on thee.' Uttering these words, Shamuil returned to his grave and to his former condition. Tâlut went home, and his grief was augmented by the thought that his sons would not comply with his wishes. He reposed on the couch of weakness and inability until he one day asked his sons the following question: 'If your father is taken to hell, will any one of you offer himself as a ransom for him?' They replied: 'We are ready to sacrifice our lives for thee; but tell us the reason of thy question.' Tâlut then informed them of his repentance, and of the advice of Shamuil. The sons replied: 'Thou wilt perish.' He said: 'It is so.' They continued: 'After thee we do not wish to live, and we are prepared most willingly to do anything thou mayest command.' Tâlut was rejoiced at the readiness of his children to obey him; therefore he ordered the doors of his treasuries to be opened, and all the materials of war to be procured. He then started on a warlike expedition, in which his sons were one by one made to taste the draught of martyrdom. At last Tâlut himself attacked the centre of the enemy's forces, and was likewise slain. After him the government devolved upon Dâud—u. w. b., etc.—for obeying whom the high and the low girded their loins of submission.

[70] Any Moslem slain in a war against infidels is considered to be a martyr and sure of paradise.

RECORD OF DÂUD'S [DAVID'S]—U. W. B., ETC.—MESSENGERSHIP AND SUCCESSORSHIP.[71]

When, after the days of Shamuil and Tâlut, the robe of prophecy and the tunic of royalty had begun to fit the person of Dâud—u. w. b., etc.—his position and dignity became so exalted that, according to one tradition, his body-guard consisted of four thousand men. His lordship united the supreme ecclesiastical and secular dignity in his own person, although before his time the prophet belonged to one, and the judge to another tribe. The Most High has said: 'O Dâud, verily we have appointed thee a sovereign prince upon the earth; judge therefore between men with truth.'[72] When he became the absolute successor [Khalifah] the Lord Most High sent down to him the Psalms, which contained exhortations and commands. The voice of Dâud was so pleasing, that whoever heard it became enamoured therewith, and seventy-two different notes are said to have issued from his blessed larynx. Wuhub Bin Muniah states that whenever he was engaged in reading the Psalms the wild beasts, birds, and rapacious animals gathered around him, and would not injure each other. It is related that when men and genii obeyed Dâud, and were delighted to listen to his voice, the flame of envy blazed up in the oven of the mind of Eblis, who became disquieted, assembled the Satans, and asked: 'By what stratagem can the possession of the hearts of mankind be taken away from Dâud, and by what means can the intercourse of human beings with him be diminished?' They all replied: 'In this matter thou art more knowing than we.' Satan said: 'We must try to invent a voice resembling his [musical] notes!' After they had agreed on this point, Eblis commenced to manufacture harps, psalteries, and all sorts of musical instruments, upon which his followers played, and thereby decoyed men from the straight path, precipitating them into the valley of

[71] Or more literally, *apostolate and khalifate.*
[72] Qurân, ch. xxxviii. 25.

[illegible]. Wahab also states that the prophet Dâud—a. w. b., etc.—was extremely devout, wept much, comforted the weak, the poor, orphans, and widows. He walked about mostly dressed in woollen garments, meditating, and roaming through the city and the public places, asking the people [incognito] how they were treated by Dâud, and whether they were contented with him or not; he also made inquiries among the inhabitants concerning his laudable and blameworthy qualities. One day he met an angel in the guise of a traveller, and questioned him according to his usual way concerning himself. The angel replied: 'Dâud would be one of the best of men if he had not one peculiarity.' The prophet asked: 'What is it?' The angel replied: 'He subsists on the public treasury, and draws all his personal expenses therefrom.' Dâud, having thus been admonished, now implored the Lord of Magnificence to exalt him by teaching him a trade for the support of himself and of his family; whereon Dâud was by a revelation of grace instructed in the craft of weaving cuirasses. The most glorious of speakers has said: 'And we taught him the art of making coats of mail for you.'[73] Some learned men have asserted that Dâud did not make coats of mail to gain the approbation of the world, or for monetary purposes, because prophets are exempted from similar attributes, but that this was one of his miracles, as the iron became soft in his blessed hands like wax. He fabricated shirts of mail, but used no hammer, anvil, or other tools, and his object was to disburse in alms any sums he gained in this way, after he had satisfied his personal wants. Tradition informs us that when Dâud was engaged in praising and magnifying God, the mountains, the animals, the sea, and the land, united with him in doing so. It is said that he divided his time into four parts, as follows: One day he spent with scholars and learned men, occupying himself with learning and study. One day he sat in the judgment seat, and judged the people righteously. One day he was engaged in devotions and suppli-

[73] Qurân, ch. xxi. 80.

cations to the Creator of the inhabitants of this world. And the fourth day he spent with his wives and family. [Nothing is said of the three remaining days of the week.]

It is related that one day he implored the Palace of Monotheism in the following words: 'O Lord, how shall I live under Thy dominion so as to please Thee?' Then the allocution came: 'Thou must remember Me much; for whoever loves Me, I love him. Thou must so govern the people of the world, and so watch thy passions, as to abstain from approaching thy absent brother's bed.'[74]

Histories inform us that the Absolute Sovereign presented Dâud with a chain, one end of which was fixed [in the sky] to the path usually called the Milky Way, and the other near the oratory of his lordship, so that the people could touch it with their hands. This chain was of iron, and bright like fire. Whenever a misfortune was sent from heaven, the chain moved, a voice issuing from it reached Dâud—u. w. b., etc.—and informed him of the event. Every sick man who touched this chain with his hand was delivered of his malady. After his lordship's departure to the mansion of eternity, the children of Esrâil fixed the chain, and decided judicial cases by means of it. When an innocent person wished to touch the chain it remained in its place, so that it might be grasped, but when an oppressor or liar endeavoured to do so, it eluded his attempts to take hold of it, and moved upwards. The Jews had recourse to it for a long time, until a man made use of a stratagem [to obtain judgment in his favour], when the chain was taken up [and disappeared for ever]. This happened as follows: One of the grandees of the children of Esrâil had entrusted a jewel of great price to the keeping of a man; the latter, however, denied afterwards that he had it in his possession when the owner wished to recover it. The possessor of the jewel desired to bring this matter before the chain, but the other man asked for some respite; he agreed, however, to the proposal after he had concealed the gem in a hollow staff. On the appointed day both the

[74] Allusion to his future adultery with the wife of Uriah (?).

accuser and the accused made their appearance, with the chiefs of the tribe, in the vicinity of the chain. The claimant stretched forth his hand and grasped the chain, whereby he became convinced that his demand was well founded. Then the defendant handed the above-mentioned staff to the accuser and said: 'Pray hold it for a moment, that I may likewise take hold of the chain.' The owner of the jewel took the cane, while the rogue turned his face towards heaven and said: 'O Lord, Thou knowest that I have restored to my accuser what he has entrusted me with. I am, therefore, now innocent of the imputation. Allow me to touch the chain.' Uttering these words, he grasped the chain, whereat the people were highly astonished, because at that time no one knew the cause. The deceiver then again took possession of his staff, and defrauded the owner of the precious jewel by this stratagem; but when the Jews got up from their sleep the next morning they found that the chain had disappeared.

Some commentators have said that the blessed verse, 'And We established his kingdom, and gave him wisdom and eloquence of speech,'[75] confirms the fact that the pomp of his lordship had attained such a degree that, when he spent the night near the altar of the Benign Sovereign, one thousand body-guards were watching; and their awe of him was such that they dared not to utter a single word contrary to the law or wisdom. Some say that his royalty was confirmed on the occasion when a man brought one of the nobles of the children of Esrâil, and accused him of having taken his cow by force. The accused man denied the fact, and as the accuser was unable to produce witnesses in his favour, Dâud said to them: Depart ye both, until I consider this matter.' That very night Dâud heard in a dream the words: 'The accuser is right, and the accused deserves capital punishment; kill him.' When Dâud awoke, he said to himself: 'How can I kill a man merely on account of a dream?' But after he had for three successive nights heard the same voice, he called the accused

[75] Qurân, ch. xxxviii. 19.

man and said: 'I shall kill thee.' The individual was distressed, and replied: 'According to what law is it permitted to kill a Musalmân without a proof of his guilt?' Dâud continued: 'I have been ordered by the Mighty Avenger to do it.' When this man saw that Dâud was determined to take his life, he said: 'O prophet of Allah, I have not become worthy of this chastisement on account of forcibly taking the cow, but because I have formerly killed the father of the owner of the cow, without a just cause.' After his lordship the prophet had despatched the spirit of that individual of high dignity to its original centre [*i.e*, after he had killed him] great fear overawed the people, and no one dared to oppose him in anything. The word 'wisdom' in the last-quoted verse points to his prophetic dignity, but concerning the expression 'eloquence of speech' there are many opinions, three of which may here be adduced: 1. That it means judicial commands. 2. That it implies science and philosophy and discernment in judgments. 3 A'li, the son of Abu Tâleb—may Allah ennoble his countenance—has said that 'eloquence of speech' means the establishment of the claim of the accuser, and the administration of an oath to the defendant, because judgment depends upon these two matters Allah, however, knows best!

Record of the Trial of Dâud, U. W. B., etc

Allah the Most High has said: 'Hath the story of the two adversaries come to thy knowledge when they ascended over the wall into the upper apartment, when they went in unto Dâud and he was afraid of them? They said, "Fear not."'[76] Some historians inform us that once certain theologians were asserting in the presence of Dâud, that not a day passes among any of the children of Esrâil without their committing sin; but Dâud [boasted], and said to himself: 'On the day of the altar [*i e.*, at the time of prayers] I endeavour not to commit any unworthy act,'

[76] Qurân, ch. xxxviii 20, 21.

wherefore the Sempiternal Will decreed that his lordship should fall into an error. Several chroniclers narrate that the temptation originated as follows: One day Dâud prayed as follows: 'O Lord, I have read in Thy Book that Thou hast before my time distinguished prophets by precious gifts, nor do I know by the performance of what acts they merited Thy favours, so that I might follow their steps and be rejoiced by Thy sublime presents.' The allocution then came: 'I have tried the former prophets with various temptations, during which they have taken hold of the roots of confidence, and have become worthy of numerous favours from Me.' Dâud said: 'My God! send me a trial that I may be patient under it, and that I may thereby become worthy of Thy favours.' Then this revelation from the Lord arrived: 'O Dâud, thou hast preferred affliction to safety; be therefore on thy guard, for in such and such a month, and on such and such a day, a misfortune will befall thee.' Some have said that the promised day was Monday, the 17th of Rajab. On that day Dâud—u. w. b., etc.—was at the altar of his oratory, engaged in reading the Psalms, when suddenly a bird in the shape of a dove made its appearance. Its body was of gold, its wings of brocade encrusted with pearls; its beak was of red rubies, its eyes of emeralds, and its feet of turquoises. This bird entered the oratory by the window and took up a position near Dâud, who was astonished at its beauty and elegant form. He intended to take it and to present it to his youngest son, which would be a source of joy and pleasure; but when he stretched out his hand to catch it the bird receded a little, whereon his lordship, becoming oblivious of his duty to God, left off reading the Psalms and arose to pursue the dove, which, however, flew out by the window. Hereon Dâud ascended to the roof and looked in all directions to see where the bird had gone; after a while he perceived it soaring in the direction of the garden of Aoria' [Uriah]. When Dâud approached the edge of the roof he cast a glance into the said garden, and his blessed eyes alighted on a handsome woman who was

bathing on the brink of a tank.[77] When that modest woman perceived the reflection of the figure of a man in the water, she scattered her hair in such a manner that it covered her whole stature. When his lordship returned to the oratory, he felt an inclination [to know the woman]. He therefore sent two men of his confidants to make inquiries about the lady, and they brought him the information that she was the spouse of Aoria', who happened at that time to be engaged in the retinue of Thoâb [Joab], the son of Dâud's sister, in besieging a fortress in the direction of Balqâr. The Lord Dâud thereon sent a message to Thoâb to despatch Aoria' with the ark of tranquillity to the gate of the fort, to combat the enemies of the religion, and to conquer the citadel. At that time it was customary that everyone who occupied the foremost rank in a battle with the ark of tranquillity either carried the day or was slain. When Thoâb communicated the contents of this injunction to Aoria' he was one of the champions, and hastened to attack the garrison of the fort, which he succeeded in conquering. Thoâb despatched the news of the victory to Dâud, who again sent word to detach Aoria' for beleaguering another place. Thoâb complied. Aoria' took the fort again, but was killed on the next occasion.[78]

According to some traditions Aoria' had lost his life in the first battle, but other verifiers and commentators assert that Thoâb's sending Aoria' into war and bloodshed is an imputation attributed to Dâud by inventors [of falsehoods], because prophets are not liable to such follies and attempts [upon the lives of innocent men]. The sin of Dâud consisted, however, in harbouring in his mind the intention of marrying the wife of Aoria', in case he should fall in battle. According to another opinion his lordship's sin was that he had asked Aoria' to divorce his spouse, which he, however, refused to do; but afterwards went of his own accord to attack the obstinate and rebellious, whereby he lost his life in battle. After this event his lordship

[77] 2 Samuel, ch. xi. 2.

[78] *Ibid.*, 17.

the prophet waited for the time of the expiration of the mourning, and desired to marry the widow, who sent him the reply that she assented, on the condition that the first son to whom she might give birth should become the heir apparent and successor of Dâud. His lordship agreed, married the lady, and begat with her Sulimân, who became a prophet and king after Dâud, as will—if it pleaseth Allah—be narrated in these pages in detail.

When a considerable time had elapsed after this event, Dâud was not aware of having committed an error, until God the most High and Magnificent vouchsafed to admonish him for his sin as follows: One day his lordship was engaged in his oratory in devotions and reading the Psalms, whilst several thousand individuals were watching him. He had, however, on that day issued orders that, except his body-guard at the door of the oratory, no one should be admitted to his presence; a great crowd had, nevertheless, assembled, and he thought the people could not have entered without permission or on account of some unpropitious event, but [two men approached him and] 'they said, Fear not, we are two adversaries [who have a controversy to be decided]. The one of us hath wronged the other; wherefore judge between us with truth, be not unjust, and direct us into the even way.'[79] Dâud asked about the quarrel, and one of them replied: 'This is my brother; he has ninety-nine sheep, and I had only one ewe, and he said: "Give her to me to keep"; and he prevailed against me in the discourse which we had together.' Dâud answered: 'Verily he hath wronged thee in demanding thine ewe [as an addition] to his own sheep; and many who are concerned together [in business] wrong each other, except who believe, and do that which is right; but how few are they!'[80] When Dâud had finished these words, the two men looked at each other, smiled, and said, 'The man has judged his own self,' and immediately dis-

[79] Qurân, ch. xxxviii. 21.
[80] *Ibid.* 22 and 23. See also Nathan's parable to David, 2 Samuel, ch. [illegible]

appeared from his sight. Dâud now knew that they were angels, who had admonished him for his fault, of which he was now convinced; therefore he repented and implored God for pardon. It is said that during forty days and nights he was prostrated in adoration, without raising his head, except in prayer and to renew his sacred ablutions.[31] He wept so much that grass grew around the place from the tears of his eyes. Whilst he was crying and supplicating he heard the words: 'O Dâud,' to which he replied: 'I hear and obey, O Lord' Then the allocution came: 'I have pardoned thy sin, and passed over thy transgression. "Wherefore we forgave him this [fault], and he shall be admitted to approach near unto us, and [shall have] an excellent place of abode [in paradise]."'[32] Historians have related, and the responsibility rests with them, that after the lamentations and supplications of Dâud had been protracted beyond all bounds, Jabrâil arrived and brought him the glad tidings of his pardon. Dâud then raised his head from adoration and said: 'O Lord, though Thou hast forgiven my sin, and drawn the line of pardon over the volume of my crime, I do not know how I shall be able to meet Aoria' on the day of the resurrection. I have injured him by exposing him to danger, and by marrying his wife. Thou art a righteous judge, but what will be my condition if Aoria' quarrels with me in Thy presence?' Wuhub Bin Muniah narrates that when Dâud represented his case at the Palace of Self-existence the allocution came: 'Go to the tomb of Aoria' and crave his pardon, for I shall resuscitate him.' Dâud obeyed, went to the sepulchre and exclaimed: 'O Aoria'!' The latter replied: 'Who is awakening me from my sleep and interrupting my delight?' His lordship said: 'I am Dâud.' Aoria' then asked: 'O prophet of Allah, what is the reason of thy coming to this place?' Dâud said: 'Pardon me for what I have done to thee.' Aoria continued: 'What is it?' Dâud rejoined: 'I have

[31] Without such ablutions prayers are not valid, and if water cannot be had for them they must be performed pantomimically with earth or sand.

[32] Qurân, ch. xxxviii. 24.

sent thee to the war, and therefore thou hast been killed.' Aoria' said: 'I thank thee, because on that account I am now dwelling in the gardens of paradise.' Dâud returned comforted and joyous from the grave of Aoria', whereon the allocution reached him: 'O Dâud, I am a righteous judge. To crave only pardon is not sufficient; thou oughtest to have explained to him the whole case.' Therefore Dâud again went to the tomb of Aoria', and after calling him, he asked: 'Who is it again disturbing my sleep?' His lordship replied: 'I am Dâud!' Aoria' rejoined: 'O prophet of Allah, why hast thou come again?' He said: 'I have come that thou mayest forgive me.' Aoria' replied: 'I have forgiven thee before.' Dâud continued: 'I have sent thee to the war, to cause thee to drink the beverage of martyrdom, that I might take possession of thy wife.' Aoria' gave no reply, although Dâud repeated these words thrice; therefore he despaired and began near the tomb to throw dust on his own head, saying: 'Woe to Dâud on the day when all the weights will be righteously adjusted! Woe to Dâud on the day when the oppressed will obtain justice against the oppressors! Woe to Dâud on the day when he will be dragged to hell in the company of sinners!' Whilst thus lamenting and wailing, Dâud heard the words: 'O Dâud, I have pardoned thee!' Dâud said 'O Lord, Thou art a pardoner of crimes, but Aoria' does not forgive me.' Then the allocution came: 'O Dâud! how can Aoria' on the day of the resurrection quarrel with thee, after I bestow upon him the blessings of paradise, hûris and palaces, when he will be pleased with thee, and will place the ledger of enemity upon the balcony of oblivion?' Dâud said: 'Now I know that Thy pardon has reached me, and no apprehension remains in my mind concerning Aoria.' Accredited historians have stated that after this event Dâud lived thirty years more, during the whole of which time his penetrating mind was in a state of perpetual melancholy and repentance.

It is the opinion of some that his lordship obtained the

gift of the above-mentioned chain after the pardon of his fault, and that, having fixed it on a mountain near the Holy House, he decided by means of it judicial cases among the people with righteousness, and that the stratagem above alluded to likewise took place during the lifetime of Dâud. After the disappearance of the chain, Dâud besought the Lord God to grant him means to enable him to distinguish an oppressor from an oppressed individual, and a guilty from an innocent man; whereon the Absolute Sage sent him the revelation to decide the cases of His servants by means of witnesses and oaths.

Record of Shalûm [Absalom] the Son of Dâud—u. w. b., etc.

Ancient chroniclers have related that whilst the lord Dâud was weeping and repenting, he did not lift up his head from adoration, so that the affairs of his kingdom and the circumstances of his subjects fell into disorder. Therefore some of the ignorant among the children of Esrâil deceived Shalûm, the son of Dâud, whom he had begotten with the daughter of Tâlut, and said to him; 'Thy father is unable to attend to the affairs of the government; thou art the eldest son of the house of prophets; thou art the most worthy to rule, and therefore thou must take possession of the government, and we thy servants shall not fail to assist and obey thee with all our might. Should thy excellent father reprove thee in this matter, thou must say that thou hast taken this heavy responsibility upon thy shoulders lest the enemies of the monarchy should attempt to get possession of the treasury, and of the supreme power.' They repeated these, and similar suggestions to him, till he complied with the wishes of those flagitious men, and assumed the reins of government. When Dâud—u. w. b., etc.—was informed of this event, he became highly displeased with the proceedings of his son; he departed from the children of Esrâil in the company of his sister's son, Thoâb, and with his commander-in-chief, who was wise in council as well as brave to such a degree

that no one was able to cope with him. When Shalûm heard of the flight of his father he made efforts to capture him. His lordship, however, despatched his sagacious commander-in-chief to Shalûm, enjoined him not to divulge that he had been sent, but to endeavour, according to his perfect shrewdness, to admonish Shalûm to return from his attitude of hostility to that of concord. The wise general then waited on Shalûm and induced him by fair speeches as well as judicious arguments to desist from rebelling against his father. After that his lordship the prophet returned honourably to his residence, but his rebellious son was awed, and deservedly fled from the sight of the Khalifah [*i.e.*, Dâud]. His lordship ordered Thoâb [Joab] to induce his darling son to come back, and enjoined him to spare his life, under the penalty of atoning for it with his own. Thoâb [Joab] then pursued and overtook Shalûm, but disregarding the injunction of Dâud, deprived him of life, and informed the king on his return of what he had done. Dâud, being much grieved, menaced Thoâb with retaliation in the same way for the unrighteous deed he had perpetrated; he refrained, however, from political reasons to carry out his intention, because Thoâb was a victorious general who had greatly distinguished himself, and had become very celebrated; on his death-bed, however, Dâud ordered Sulimân not to spare him. Therefore, when Dâud had been interred, Sulimân executed his command, and avenged his brother's death by relieving Thoâb of the encumbrance of his head.

It is said that in Dâud's time the children of Esrâil had increased to such numbers as to astonish his lordship, whereon the allocution reached him: 'O Dâud, when Ebrahim was about to sacrifice his son, I told him that I would multiply his posterity. After this promise I determined to afflict the children of Esrâil with a calamity, for the purpose of diminishing their numbers. Select, therefore, one of these three misfortunes[83]: The first is famine, the second conquest by an enemy, and the third is the plague.'

[83] 2 Sam. ch. xxiv. 12.

Dâud assembled the people, and told them what was in store for them. The Jews replied: 'Thou art our prophet and our king, we shall agree to whatever thou mayest choose.' Dâud said: 'Famine extinguishes mercy, and severs the ties of consanguinity; therefore I do not select it. To be conquered by an enemy is a dreadful calamity; no one who possesses any self-esteem would bear it; the high and the low are exterminated. Therefore I think it will be best for you to die in your own houses by the plague, and to abandon all your affairs to the care of God, the Most Wise; for He is the most merciful of the merciful.' The Jews having agreed to the proposal of Dâud, he ordered them to put on their shrouds, and they assembled in one place. Dâud proceeded with the theologians and priests of the children of Esrâil to the plains around the Holy House [*i.e.*, Jerusalem]; all of them bowed their heads in adoration, wailing, and lamentation, and the prayers of his lordship with those of the priests were responded to on the very same day; therefore Dâud raised his head, and informed the priests of the glad tidings.

After the plague had ceased the heads were numbered, and one hundred and seventy thousand were found to have died from sunrise till sunset:

Distich. Praised be the Creator whose wonderful properties
Prostrate the wisdom of prophets on the soil of weakness.

When most of the people had been freed of the wrath of God, Dâud said to them: 'Gratitude to the Lord God, whose benefits are universal, is incumbent upon you, nor can you offer any better thanks than by building a mosque in this pure region.' The children of Esrâil girded the loins of obedience, Dâud prayed with reference to this subject, and after obtaining the Divine permission, his lordship set the people to lay the foundations of the farther mosque[84] with the greatest diligence and expedition. It is said that the ground belonged to several of the children of

[84] The temple is mentioned under this name in the Qurân, ch. xvii. 1, and was in Jerusalem.

Esrâil, all of whom voluntarily surrendered their portions, except an indigent man, who refused to do so. The people then said angrily to him: 'If thou wilt sell thy portion, we shall pay the price, or we will in spite of thee take possession of it for the mosque.' Therefore the said individual went to Dâud to complain, and the latter said: 'We shall buy thy portion with thy consent; tell us now for what price thou wilt sell it.' The poor man replied: 'For whatever your lordship's prophetic mind decides upon.' Dâud said: 'If thou wilt, we shall fill thy plot of ground with sheep and camels, and give them to thee; but if thou askest more than this, we will make a bargain for it too.' The owner said: 'If you will build a wall as high as my stature around the ground belonging to me, and will fill it with dinârs to obtain my consent, I shall surrender it.' Dâud —u. w. b., etc.—spoke with the children of Esrâil about making an arrangement with the man concerning the price of his land, but the poor man said: 'O prophet of Allah, who knows what is hidden and what is patent, and is aware of the secrets of our minds, He knows that the pardon of one of my sins is more dear to me than all the treasures of the world. My object was only to try the people, and not to take any money. Now set about with good cheer and luck to build the mosque. I most willingly renounce accepting any price for my small plot of ground.' After that Dâud began with the chiefs and nobles of the people to lay the foundations of the mosque, and raised it to the height of a man's stature, whereon the revelation descended from the Lord of Lords: 'Your work is accepted, and your gratitude likewise. Cease, however, now to continue to build, because this noble structure is to be finished by the efforts of one of the excellent sons of Dâud, that a memorial and a monument of him may remain among the people for a long time.' Accordingly they left off working at the edifice, which was, after the demise of Dâud, in consequence of the mandate of the Benign Sovereign, completed by King Sulimân.

After one hundred, or according to the tradition of the

author of the Ma'aruf, one hundred and twenty, years had elapsed of the life of Dâud, he surrendered his pure spirit in some of his private apartments, according to the orders of the Almighty who gives and takes away life, and departed to the gardens of paradise. To God belongs the power over the past and the future. Wuhub Bin Muniah states that his lordship's coffin was taken to be buried on a very warm day. The people suffered so much from the heat that they complained to Sulimân, who thereon ordered birds so to entwine their wings that even the wind could not penetrate through them; but as this circumstance also distressed the funeral procession, Sulimân commanded the birds to shelter the crowd on the side of the sun only, and to open the other side so as to allow the wind to blow upon the people It is recorded that on the said day forty thousand priests escorted the coffin of Dâud, and that no one knew the numbers of the other mourners, except the Creator of [all] beings.

Record of Sulimân [Solomon], the Son of Dâud—Blessings be upon both of them.

Chroniclers and historians inform us that the daughter of Hanana, and relict of Aoria', gave birth to Sulimân after the repentance of Dâud had been accepted. Even in his infancy, and when he had begun to grow, the signs of prosperity and dominion radiated from his august forehead. The indications of a sincere and virtuous disposition, as well as of beauty and amenity of form, also manifested themselves. Even before Sulimân had attained the age of maturity, Dâud consulted him in all matters. At that time, also, several wonderful manifestations were revealed in the person of Sulimân, which convinced Dâud that he would soon be raised to the culminating point of prophetic and royal dignity, and his high degree of intelligence will appear also from the following narrative:

Dâud had appointed an individual to be chief judge and to regulate the affairs of his subjects. On a certain occasion

a handsome woman, who had no equal in beauty and affability, waited upon the judge with the intention of obtaining some property which she claimed from a man. The judge was so charmed with her beauty that when she returned to her house, he sent a person after her to offer her a matrimonial alliance with himself; the modest woman, however, refused, saying she did not wish to marry. Thereon the unrighteous judge desired to commit adultery with her, but she intimated to the messenger that she was far from willing to consent to so base an act. After the said virtuous lady had thus been disappointed with the chief judge, she brought her case to the notice of the superintendent of the police; but the result was the same as with the judge. Thereupon she petitioned the commissioner of the public markets; but he also entertained lascivious designs, and at last she proffered her claims to the chamberlain of Dâud, but was equally disappointed, because he harboured the same intentions as the above-mentioned functionaries. Being unable to open the door [of attaining her wishes] by moving any of these rings [*i.e.*, officials], she renounced her claim and took refuge in solitude. It happened that on a certain occasion the said judge and those three voluptuaries met to discuss all kinds of matters with each other, and at last their conversation having turned on the above woman, her continence and independence prompted them to concoct a plan for bringing about her ruin, which consisted in an agreement to accuse her of having had carnal intercourse with a dog. They accordingly waited upon Dâud and stated the [concocted] case with much eagerness. The king was, in conformity with the Mosaic Law, bound to issue orders for the stoning of that innocent woman; Sulimân, however, who had heard this decision, immediately left the hall of assembly, joined his playmates, and those whose duty it was to take care of him. He sat down and despatched a man in pursuit of the people who were to stone the woman, instructing them to delay the execution of the sentence. Then he ordered one of the children to sit down in the same way as that woman

had been sitting in the presence of Dâud; he also instructed four children to bear testimony in the same manner as the four false witnesses had done against the said virtuous lady. After having received the evidence of the four children, he separated them from each other, and asked each of them separately what the colour of that dog was? The first witness said that it was black. He sent him to a corner, and addressed the same question to the second, who replied that it was red. He separately examined also the third and the fourth boy, and found them likewise to be of different opinions concerning the colour of the dog. Then he addressed them as follows: 'O ye wicked and lascivious men! You wished to deceive me in order to get an innocent woman stoned.' Then he said to the other children: 'Kill those false witnesses!' At that moment one of the attendants reported to Dâud everything that had just taken place. His lordship thereon summoned the false witnesses to his presence, and after separately examining them about the colour of the dog, and finding them to disagree, he ordered them to be punished according to their deserts.

On another occasion two women, each of whom had an infant, went to a washing-place in the desert, and neglected their children [whilst engaged in washing] so that one of them was devoured by a wolf. The women began to quarrel about the surviving infant, and each of them wanted to keep it for herself, asserting it to be her own child. At last they brought their case to the notice of Dâud, who adjudged—on account of the want of evidence, or witnesses—the child to belong to both women. When the two contending parties left the judgment-hall they perceived Sulimân, who looked at them and said: 'How did the prophet of Allah decide your case?' One of the women having mentioned the decision, Sulimân asked for a sword, and took hold also of the child. The women asked: 'What wilt thou do with this infant?' He replied: 'I shall cut it in twain, and shall give one half to each of you.' One of the two women agreed to the division; the other, however, began to lament, and said: 'Give the child to the other

woman, for I shall not agree to this proposal.' Sulimân continued: 'The child belongs to the woman who weeps, and does not like to see it halved.'[85] When this decision was reported to Dâud, he was astonished at the intelligence of his sagacious son.

Once Dâud and Sulimân were travelling, and happened to meet a community in which there was a child called 'the son of blood.' Dâud inquired about the original name of the child, but was told that he had no other name besides this; then Sulimân said to his father: 'O prophet of Allah, I shall inquire about the circumstances of this boy.' Dâud assented, and when they had returned among the people, Sulimân instituted inquiries among them, but elicited only the fact that the boy had been so named by the orders of his father. After still further inquiries, the people confessed that when the boy's father was about to die of wounds which he had received, he had made his last will, and told his pregnant wife, in case she should give birth to a son, to name him 'the son of blood,' or if a female, 'the daughter of blood.' After Sulimân had informed Dâud of the evidence thus obtained, his lordship caused all the property of the killed man, which had been forcibly retained, to be restored to the boy, and the murderers to be punished as they deserved.

One of the decisions of Sulimân, according to which Dâud acted, was the command he issued with reference to Yohanna and Ailia. The case was, that two individuals lived in each other's neighbourhood, one of whom was called Yohanna and the other Ailia. It happened that one night the sheep of Yohanna had suddenly entered the fields of Ailia, and had committed depredations therein. Allah —w. n. b. e.—has said: 'And [remember] Dâud and Sulimân, when they pronounced judgment concerning a field, when the sheep [of certain people] had fed therein by night, having no shepherd.'[86] When it was daylight, Ailia summoned Yohanna to the presence of Dâud, and accused him of having permitted his sheep to cause damage in the above-

[85] 1 Kings, ch. iii. 16-27. [86] Qurân, ch. xxi. 78.

named field by leaving them without a shepherd. After Yohanna had been found guilty, Dâud ordered the damage as well as the price of the sheep to be estimated, and decided that Yohanna should take possession of the entire harvest, in return for which and for the injury done he was to surrender the sheep to Ailia. When the two contending parties left the judgment-hall, Sulimân asked them how their dispute had ended. They informed him, and he said: 'The prophet of God has awarded a just sentence; but if I had been judge between you, I would have given a decision satisfactory to both parties.' These words having been reported to Dâud, he called for his beloved son, and questioned him about the matter. Sulimân, however, respectfully abstained from giving an opinion; but said, after being much pressed: 'The sheep ought to be given to the possessor of the field that he may profit by them, and the field to the possessor of the sheep until he restores it to its former condition, whereon Ailia may again take possession of his field and Yohanna of his sheep.' Dâud agreed to this decision, and said: 'May God not deprive thee of wisdom, O my son, and may He augment thy understanding.' The two disputants then returned pleased and thankful, acting in conformity with the decision of Sulimân to which Dâud had assented.

It is related that when the Lord Sulimân had received his mission, he besought the Possessor of Dominion to grant him a kingdom the like of which should fall to the lot of no other sovereign after him. When this prayer had been responded to, the Lord, who giveth power to whom He pleaseth, and who taketh it away from whom He listeth, subjected men and genii, animals and birds, to the command of Sulimân, and even the wind obeyed his behests. After Sulimân had been established on the throne of absolute dominion, he ordered the Satans to weave a carpet, equal in extent to the space whereon his army was encamped. When he desired to travel, he caused the throne with all the appurtenances of the royal household to be transferred to the said carpet, on which also the whole

army was standing in battle-array. Then he ordered the wind to take up the carpet and to convey it to the desired place. Allah—w. n. b. e.—has said: 'It ran at his command to the land whereon we had bestowed [our] blessing.'[87] The wind thereon passed over the sown fields [gently] and did not injure [the harvests upon] them. Some have related that, when the Lord Sulimân started in the morning from Syria, he ate his dinner at Estakhar in Persia, after which he travelled to Kâbul, where he arrived at supper-time.

There is a variety of opinions about the length and breadth of Sulimân's kingdom. Some are of opinion that he possessed the whole earth, it being on record in histories that four kings governed the entire world, two of whom were believers and two infidels; the former having been Zulqarneen and Sulimân, and the latter Nimrud and Bakhtanasar. Some allege that Sulimân was in the beginning king of Syria, to which he afterwards added the realm of Persia.

Record of the Building of the Holy House and of the Construction of the Farther Mosque.

After the decease of Dâud—u. w. b., etc.—the Lord Sulimân was determined to finish the Farther Mosque, and to build a city around it. He engaged men and genii to perform duties appropriate to them, ordered skilled architects first to lay out the foundations of the city of marble stones, and to divide it into twelve ramparts, between which the twelve tribes were to dwell. The Holy House was finished in a certain time.[88] He commanded genii to betake themselves to mines, and to bring rubies, sapphires, topazes, emeralds, gold, silver, and the like; he despatched them to the sea to bring pearls and corals, and appointed another company of them to transport stones. When all the materials and tools were ready, the stone-cutters had to cut tables and surfaces; the masons placed white, green, and yellow stones

[87] Qurân, ch. xxi. 81. [88] 1 Kings, ch. vi. 38.

over each other until they had completed the walls of the mosque. They built its columns of pure transparent stone; they incrusted the ceiling and walls with a variety of precious gems, the splendour whereof made that place of worship as bright in dark nights as in plain daylight. After the edifice had been completed, Sulimân gave an opulent banquet, to which he invited all the nobles and grandees of the children of Esrâil, and said: 'This house has been constructed solely and exclusively for the worship of God the Most High—w. n. b. e.—it must not remain empty for a single hour of the theologians of God, and of readers about the blessings of the next world.' The Holy House and the Farther Mosque were for a long time building and being ornamented. When Bakhtanasar [Nebuchadnezzar] conquered Syria, he destroyed the city, and tearing off from the ceiling [of the temple] all the gems and pearls, carried them off to the metropolis of his own country.[89]

It is related that when, by order of Sulimân—u.w.b. etc.—the Satans had constructed forts and citadels around [the city], they built also several very strong ones in the country of Yaman, and fashioned in them figures of angels, prophets, saints, heroes, birds, and wild animals, which they constructed of gold, silver, brass, agate, and crystal. It is recorded that they constructed two lions, upon whose backs the throne of Sulimân was placed. It is said that they made also a talisman, by means of which, every time his lordship desired to ascend the throne, the lions raised their forefeet and placed them near each other, whereon Sulimân placed his blessed feet upon them, and was lifted upon the throne. After the decease of Sulimân, a king had taken the notion to mount the throne in this manner and to sit in his place; but when he made the attempt, the said two lions struck the leg of the king with their forefeet so that it was broken. The place of great men cannot be occupied with impunity. After that, no one dared to approach the throne; the [true] knowledge, however, is with Allah!

[89] 2 Kings, ch. xxiv. 10-16.

It is said that the Satans made the cooking-pots and other vessels of his lordship's kitchen so capacious and high that they could not be moved, and that, when the food was cooked, heavy steps were placed against them, for the purpose of reaching the food and taking it out. It is related that the Most High vouchsafed greatness to Sulimân, and admonished the family of Dâud to be grateful; 'O family of Dâud be thankful, for but few of my servants are so!' Sulimân was constantly engaged in thanksgivings for the Divine blessings he had received, and informed the people likewise thereof, saying: 'O men, we have been taught the language of birds!' The voices of birds informed Sulimân of their intentions, so that one day when his lordship heard the cooing of a dove in the assembly, and asked those present whether they knew what the pigeon was saying, the people replied: 'God and His prophet know it.' He then informed them that the dove had uttered the words. 'You have been born for death, and you are building for ruin.'

It is related in several histories, and has come to the notice of the author of these pages, that Sulimân—u. w. b., etc.—had constructed in front of the hall in which he sat a terrace twelve farsakhs long, and twelve broad, concerning which he had received the following injunction in the language of the circumstances:

Distich. For this palace which will remain after thee,
Take a brick of silver, and a brick of gold.

To the vision of his aspirations, no difference appeared to exist between a brick of mud or of gold; he, nevertheless, ordered the pavement of that surface to be composed of alternate gold and silver bricks. He possessed a throne of pure gold inlaid with rubies and pearls, which was day by day conveyed from the hall to the just-mentioned plain, and, after the dispersion of the assembly, again carried back to its place; many chairs, all of which were of gold and of silver, stood around the throne. The Lord Asaf [*i.e.*, wazier of Sulimân] was accustomed to sit on a chair placed near

the throne, and thus engaged in administering the affairs of the state, or regulating the affairs of the subjects. There were other chairs, four thousand in number, whereon many learned men and priests of the children of Esrâil took their seats. In the rear of the royal throne four hundred courtiers, four thousand genii, and four thousand fairies were standing ready for service. For the protection of his peerless body from injury, birds formed over his head a canopy, by intertwining their wings, thus keeping off the heat of the sun. Sulimân sat daily in the judgment-seat from sunrise till sunset, and then returned to the hall. He spent some of his time in weaving baskets; but after gaining a competency to support life, he ceased to engage in this occupation. He had an appointed time for worship, but spent the greater portion of the night in reading the Psalms.

It is related that in his kitchen every day seven hundred loaves of flour-bread were baked, and other victuals cooked in proportion, although he himself consumed [only] oat-bread in the company of a poor man, and books are filled with similar information. When the power, dignity, and circumstance of Sulimân the prophet had attained their highest degree, he conceived the idea of once giving a repast to all the tribes of men, genii, birds, fishes, and to all the creatures of God, for the purpose of progressing one step in the plain of thanksgivings for the benefits he had received. He first obtained the permission of the Lord of Lords, then selected an extremely spacious prairie adjoining the sea, ordered genii to make two thousand seven hundred pots, the diameter of each whereof from border to border is said to have been one thousand cubits. It is related in the *Benaqiti* that for the said banquet, among other animals, twenty-two thousand kine were slaughtered, and the amount of the other victuals is to be calculated according to this datum. When all sorts of creatures had assembled from every region and country in the said plain, and the food had been got ready, the Divine Will determined to show to Sulimân His omnipotence and

[illegible] in the allotment of daily support to His creatures, and sent one of the maritime animals on land to speak to Sulimân as follows: 'Thou art giving a banquet to all creatures, and my maintenance for this day devolves upon thy kitchen; order, therefore, my portion to be given me.' Sulimân replied: 'Go to the kitchen, and eat thy fill.' The beast complied, but devoured everything that had been prepared for the meal, and, returning to Sulimân, exclaimed: 'Feed me, O Sulimân!' When his lordship perceived that all the eatables accumulated for some time by his laborious cooks had been consumed by one creature, which was still shouting, 'Is there anything more?' he felt overwhelmed with astonishment and apprehension how to satisfy the others. The animal then said: 'O Sulimân, I have obtained one-third of my daily food; to whom wilt thou send me to get the remaining two portions?' Sulimân replied: 'What thou hast at once swallowed had been collected during a long time for the repast of the various tribes of beings, but by the blessing of thy advent in this plain all the eatables have vanished.' The monster said: 'It would not be fair to allow me to return hungry this day, on which Allah the magnificent and glorious has sent me to be thy guest. If thou art unable to satisfy one creature, why hast thou attempted to feed genii, men, animals, birds, and reptiles?' Sulimân, having been warned by these words, took refuge with the Lord, repented, craved His pardon, and said: 'I made my request on account of my ignorance. O Lord, have mercy upon my ignorance!' After that he was forgiven by the Lord of Glory.

Story of the Ant.

Allah—w. n. b. e.—said: 'And his armies were gathered together unto Sulimân [consisting] of genii and men and birds, and they were led in distinct bands until they came unto the valley of ants. [And] an ant [seeing the hosts approaching] said: O ants, enter ye into your habitations, lest Sulimân and his army tread you under foot and per-

ceive [it] not.'[90] Wahab Bin Muniah relates a tradition of Ka'b-ullâkhbâr, that when Sulimân—u. w. b., etc.—rode on the wind, he carried with him all his attendants and servants with iron stoves and stone pots, every one of which could contain ten camels; and in front of the carpet there was a plain for the quadrupeds, all of which the wind took up and bore gently to the place of their destination. Once Sulimân was travelling in this manner from Estakhar in Persia towards the country of Yaman. When he arrived in the pleasant city of Madinah, he said: 'This is the place to which the prophet of the last times will flee. Blessed is he who will believe in him, and blessed will be he who will follow him!' Thence he went to Mekkah, where he did not alight, but passed on in haste, the house of the Ka'bah being at that time full of idols. After Sulimân had departed, the Ka'bah was distressed, and complained to Allah —w. n. b. e.—who asked it why it was lamenting, and the edifice replied. 'O Lord, Sulimân is one of the prophets, all whose followers profess monotheism and Islâm; they have nevertheless passed me by, have not alighted, have not prayed, and have not purified me of idols.' Then again the allocution of the Lord of lords descended: 'Lament not, but be of good cheer; for I shall distinguish thee most of all localities. I shall cause the pious, who will come to worship here, and from whose countenances light is radiating—"who have marks on their faces from the effects of prayer"—to circumambulate thee. I shall raise up from thee a prophet, who will be the best of prophets in my sight. I shall give to My servants grace to rebuild thee, I shall grant strength to one of My intimate servants to purify thee of idols, I shall enjoin the poor and the rich in a religious ordinance to go on pilgrimage to thee, to circumambulate thee, and I shall make them so desirous to visit thee, that they will hasten to thee from every deep valley, like the eagle who soars over his nest.'

In fine, after Sulimân had passed by the regions of Mekkah, he arrived in the valley of the ant, which is,

[90] Qurân, ch. xxvii. 17, 18.

according to some traditions, a valley near Tâif, where the king of the ants ordered his army to enter their hiding-places, lest they should be injured by the descent of Sulimân's host and carpet upon them. When his lordship had been informed of the ant's apprehension, and his advice to his subjects, he smiled. 'And [Solomon] smiled, laughing at the words, and said: O Lord, excite me, that I may be thankful for Thy favour wherewith Thou hast favoured me and my parents.'[91] He implored the Infinite Benefactor to cause the carpet to descend in the valley of ants; he also issued orders that no one should move after it had descended until the ants had retired into their nests. Then he called for their chief, placed him on the palm of his hand, and conversed with him very affably:

Distich: To consider dervishes is not repugnant to grandeur,
Since Sulimân, with all his pomp, considered an ant.

He asked: 'Knowest thou that I am a prophet of Allah, and that I do not wish to injure even an ant under my foot?' The king of the ants replied: 'I was aware of it; but as it is incumbent upon superiors to admonish their inferiors, I did so. Another reason was because thy followers might do harm, "and perceive it not," as the blessed verse informs us.' The Lord Sulimân approved of this reply, and further inquired: 'Is my power and dominion greater than thine?' The king of the ants said: 'O prophet of Allah, thy throne is borne by the wind, and mine is now on the palm of thy hand.' Sulimân continued: 'Is my army more numerous than thy hosts?' The king of the ants said: 'Allow me a little time to show thee some of my army.' His lordship having assented, the king of the ants shouted to his army to come forth into the presence of the prophet of Allah. It is related that thereon seventy thousand legions issued forth [from their nests], the numbers of each of which were known to no one except to Him who is aware of the mysteries of futurity. Sulimân then asked: 'Hast thou other armies beside these?' The ant replied: 'O prophet of Allah, be it known unto thee that, if they

[91] Qurân, ch. xxvii. 19.

were during seventy years to continue to appear every day in this manner, all of them could not present themselves.' The Lord Sulimân was astonished, and wished to depart, but the king of the ants said: 'Delay a while that I may bring thee an offering in conformity with my circumstances, since an old proverb says, "He who visits a living man and tastes nothing, is like one who pays a visit to a dead man."' His lordship complied with the request, and the king of the ants produced one-half of the leg of a locust:

Verses: It is a fault, but it is a feat of an ant
To bring the foot of a locust to Sulimân!
One day an ant waited upon Sulimân
With the foot of a locust in her mouth;
She sang eloquently, and, excusing herself, said:
'The donation is in conformity with the donor's power.'

Story of Balqis [Queen of Sheba] and the City of Saba [Sheba].

It is said that Sulimân assigned to each bird an occupation. He appointed the lapwing to investigate the earth, and to report in what places water is most accessible, because it was able to see water in the earth as men see oil in transparent bottles. During a certain journey water was wanted, and his lordship looked for the lapwing, but found its place empty, and said: 'What is the reason that I see not the lapwing?'[92] But the more it was searched for, the less it could be found, because it had on that occasion departed to the kingdom of Saba. The details of this event are, however, as follows: When Sulimân was engaged in the conquest and occupation of countries, he marched toward Yaman [Arabia Felix], and arrived at the city of Sana'a. Perceiving the country to be pleasant and agreeable, he alighted in one of its prairies for the purpose of reciting his prayers and feeding his army. When the lapwing perceived Sulimân thus engaged, it made use of the opportunity, flew away, looked at the length and breadth of that country, and after it had enjoyed the aspect of the parks, rivers, the multitude of trees and buildings, it alighted from the air

[92] Qurân, ch. xxvii. 20.

on the top of a tree, where it met a companion of its own species, entered with him into conversation, and his friend said to him: 'This town is called the city of Saba, and the country is governed by a woman called Balqis. She has twelve generals, each of whom commands a hundred thousand warriors; all of them, however, worship the sun.' After the lapwing of Sulimân had informed itself about all the external and internal affairs of that pleasant country, it returned. When Sulimân had perceived the absence of the lapwing, he called the chief of the birds, who was an eagle, into his presence, and inquired about the disappearance of the lapwing. The eagle replied: 'I do not know where it went to, for I have not sent it anywhere.' As the whole army stood in need of water, and the lapwing was not present to give the required information, the wrath of Sulimân became incensed, and he said: 'Verily, I will chastise her with a severe chastisement, or I will put her to death, unless she bring me a just excuse.'[93] Then he despatched the eagle to search for the lapwing. The eagle soared about till he discovered it arriving from the road to Saba, and they returned together to Sulimân. His lordship stretched forth his hand, took hold of the lapwing's head, and, drawing it towards him, said: 'I shall chastise thee with a severe chastisement.'[94] The lapwing replied: 'O prophet, think of the day of reckoning, on which thou wilt be brought before the righteous judge!' At these words Sulimân let go its head, and asked where it had been. The lapwing said: 'I have viewed [a country] which thou hast not viewed, and I come unto thee from Saba with a certain piece of news.'[95] Sulimân asked: 'What hast thou seen there?' The lapwing replied: 'I have found a woman, who is the ruler of the country—namely, Balqis, the daughter of Sharahil, of the race of Ya'rob, the son of Qohtân, to whom Allah—w. n. b. e.—has granted the ornaments of this world, one of which is a large throne. Sharahil was a mighty king, and the surrounding potentates were all anxious to become his fathers-in-law. He

[93] Qurân, ch. xxvii. 21. [94] *Ibid.* [95] *Ibid.*, 22.

was, however, reluctant, told them that they were not his peers, and refused to marry the daughter of every one of them; he, nevertheless, at last married Rihana, the daughter of Sakan, the king of the genii, who gave birth to Balqis. Sharahil had no other child except her, and after the death of her father she invited the people of Yaman to pay her allegiance. Some chiefs complied, whilst others did homage to a certain tyrant who oppressed his subjects greatly, and they desired to get rid of him. On this point Balqis also agreed with them; therefore, she concocted a stratagem, and sent an envoy to the oppressor with the following message: "I think proper that our two kingdoms become one, and that estrangement be changed into intimacy. This will take place if thou wilt marry me, and spread the shadow of thy compassion over me." The king, being highly pleased, and feeling obliged by this proposal, the nuptials between the two took place by mutual consent, but at an hour which was propitious only to Balqis and fatal to the king. On the bridal night Balqis proceeded with all pomp and circumstance to the domicile of her consort, and having that same night caused him to quaff copious draughts of wine, she separated his conceited head with the scimitar of violence from his body; and after having also taken undisputed possession of her father's kingdom, she established herself firmly on the throne of royalty. The Lord—whose magnificence be glorified—vouchsafed all the requisites of pomp to Balqis, and presented her with a couch made of pure gold, encrusted with rubies, pearls, and all sorts of precious stones. It is said that the legs of the throne were of rubies and emeralds; that it was thirty cubits long, and as many in height.'

After the lapwing had finished its tale about Balqis, Sulimân asked what religion she and her subjects professed. The lapwing replied: 'I found her and her people worshipping the sun (till the end of the verse).'[90] Sulimân said: 'Why do you not worship God, who reveals things secret and hidden in heaven and on earth? They say the

[90] Qurân, ch xxvii 24.

[illegible] is concealed in heaven and the plants in the earth. Why do you not adore that Omnipotent One who sends rain from heaven and causes grass to grow from the earth?' Then Sulimân again addressed the lapwing, saying: 'I shall see whether thou hast spoken the truth in what thou hast reported, or whether thou art one of the tribe of liars.' Then he ordered Asaf, the son of Barahia, to write a letter to Balqis and to her subjects, to invite them to accept Islâm and to follow the truth. Asaf accordingly composed an epistle, as Allah—whose name be exalted and blessed—says: 'It is from Sulimân, and this is [the tenor thereof]: In the name of the most merciful God, rise not up against me; but come and surrender yourselves unto me.'[97] Sulimân then sealed the letter, and despatched it by the lapwing to Saba:

Distich: O lapwing of the zephyr! To Saba I send thee;
See from what place, and to what place I send thee.

It is said that from the locality where Sulimân dwelt there was a distance of seventy farsakhs to the residence of Balqis. When Sulimân despatched the lapwing, he said: 'Carry this letter, and drop it upon their heads; observe what they say, and return to me': 'Go with this my letter, and cast it down unto them; then turn aside from them, and wait [to know] what answer they will return.'[98] When the lapwing arrived in Saba, it found seven doors of the pavilion of Balqis locked; then it soared about the palace, entered her private apartment by the window, and deposited the epistle upon the bosom of Balqis. When the queen awoke from sleep she found the letter upon her breast, but the doors being fastened, and no one with her, she was astonished, meditated who could have brought this writing, and looked puzzled to her left and right; but when she caught sight of the lapwing, she knew that it had been the bearer of the missive. Then she looked at the seal of Sulimân's ring, began to tremble for fear, opened the letter, read it, ordered the ministers of the kingdom and the councillors into her presence, explained what

[97] Qurân, ch. xxvii. 31. [98] *Ibid.*, 28.

had taken place, and communicated to them the contents of the epistle, asking them their opinion in this matter. They replied with strength of mind and boldness, saying: 'The reins of command and prohibition are in thy hands. We shall gird our loins in obedience to whatever thou mayest command.' Love, however, had taken possession of the queen's heart, and she asked: 'Have you heard what kind of man Sulimân is?' They replied: 'He is a king, the son of a king, who invites men to profess the religion of Mûsa; men, fairies, birds, beasts, and demons obey him.' Balqis continued: 'Verily, kings, when they enter a city, waste the same, and abase the most powerful of the inhabitants thereof.[99] Now, I will send a gift unto them.[100] If Sulimân be the administrator of royalty, he will accept my presents; but if he be invested with the prophetic dignity, he will reject my offerings, and will not be satisfied unless we adopt Islâm; nor can we offer resistance to him if he be a prophet.' The councillors having approved of this opinion, Balqis selected one hundred boys and girls from among her servants, the former resembling the latter on account of their comeliness, long hair, and absence of beards. She placed an unbored ruby in a casket, and locked it with a golden padlock. She took four ingots encrusted with sapphires and other precious stones—two of them were of silver and two of gold; then she sent these things as presents, after having appointed Mundhir Bin A'mru, who was distinguished among his contemporaries by his great intelligence and knowledge, to be her ambassador and the bearer of her letter. She also attached to him seven wise men, and, before dismissing him, said: 'When thou arrivest near that heavenlike palace, request Sulimân to separate the females from the males; because, if he be a prophet, this will not be difficult to him. Ask him what is in this casket, and how it may be perforated. If he speaks and acts righteously, leave these gifts with him; but if not, bring them back to me. Ask him what water it is that comes neither from heaven nor from the

[99] Qurân, ch. xxvii. 34. [100] *Ibid.*, 35.

earth, but quenches the thirst of anyone who drinks it?' She also said to Mundhir: 'If Sulimân looks at thee with haughtiness and pride, know that he is a king and not a prophet; therefore thou needest not fear his bravery and power, and mayest boldly enter into conversation with him. But if he meets you with affability and kindness, be sure that he is a prophet; then consider well the words of his lordship, replying humbly and respectfully.' After the queen had finished her injunctions, the ambassadors departed to the palace of Sulimân.

Jebrâil having been sent down by the Lord of lords, informed his lordship the refuge of prophecy [*i.e.*, Sulimân] of all matters and of the solution of difficulties. The Lord Sulimân then ordered the demons to pave the long and wide plain alternately with bricks of gold and silver, and to leave four spaces for bricks empty on the part on which the ambassadors were to arrive Innumerable multitudes of people assembled on the plain; the children of men being on one side, and the Satans drawn up in distinct lines separately from them. In the vicinity and around that assembly, animals and wild beasts were kept in check. The throne of Sulimân, occupied by his lordship, was situated in the centre of the said plain, on each side of which four thousand chairs were placed, destined for the nobles of the children of Esrâil and for the grandees of the realm, over all of whom the various tribes of birds intertwined their wings and formed a canopy. When the ambassadors of Balqis arrived, and beheld the perfect magnificence of Sulimân. they were confused and astounded; when they looked at the floor made of gold and of silver, they were ashamed of the poverty of their own gifts, and deposited their four ingots in the place purposely left empty for them by the demons. When they approached the ranks of the Satans, they perceived their strange and terrible shapes, were startled, and, being dismayed, had not the courage to progress further; but the Satans exclaimed: 'Hasten on, and be of good cheer; for the government and justice of Sulimân are such that not only you, but no one

else, can come to harm.' Accordingly the ambassadors passed through the legions of genii and of men, through the various species of animals and wild beasts, at last reaching the presence of Sulimân. His lordship received them with kindness and mercy, whereon Mundhir stepped forward and presented the letter of Balqis, which she had humbly and respectfully written. Sulimân inquired about the ingots, and Mundhir bashfully confessed having thrown them down. After he had condescended to comply with the requests of the ambassadors, he discerned the males from the females by the light of prophecy, and by the abundance of his wisdom; he also told them that the casket enshrined an unbored ruby, and that they desired to learn how to perforate it, he therefore, in compliance with their wishes, ordered a demon to bore it through with a diamond He also explained that the water which neither descends from heaven nor issues from the earth, but quenches thirst, is the perspiration of a horse The ambassadors acknowledged the truth [of these replies], but his lordship refused to accept the gifts of Balqis, saying. 'You cannot augment my possessions; for what God the magnificent and glorious has bestowed upon me is better than anything you are able to offer.' Then he said to Mundhir. 'Return and tell them to profess the Faith, or else I shall come with an army, to which they will be unable to offer any resistance, I shall then expel them from the country, and take possession of Yaman with the kingdom of Saba.' After Mundhir had returned, he reported at the court of Balqis what had taken place, whereon the queen swore that Sulimân was not only a sovereign, but also an inspired messenger, whose prophetic dignity had been decorated with the ornament of royalty, and the diploma of whose ambassadorship had been sealed with the signet of sovereignty, and that she had not the power to resist or to oppose him Therefore she despatched, by the advice of intelligent men, again a smooth-tongued and very learned ambassador to Sulimân, to whom she sent the message that she would come and wait on him

with the chief men of her kingdom, for the purpose of paying allegiance and homage to him.

After making all the preparations necessary for the journey, the queen ordered the throne to be placed into the seventh [innermost] house, to be locked up, and the keys of the doors to be given to herself. She also left a company of guards and confidential servants to watch the throne. Then she marched with a pomp and magnificence, the aspect of which confused the vision of the heavens, to the camp of Sulimân, near which she arrived after duly performing the journey, and alighted at the distance of one farsakh therefrom. Sulimân, who had in the morning received the news of the arrival of Balqis, assembled his men and genii, and said to them: 'Which of you will, before the arrival of Balqis and her retinue, bring her throne to me?' An I'frit of the genii said: 'I shall bring the throne of Balqis ere thou arisest from thy place.' Sulimân remained sitting from morn till eve in his assembly of judgment, as has been mentioned above. 'A terrible genius answered: I will bring it unto thee before thou arise from thy place, for I am able [to perform it] and may be trusted.'[101] Sulimân replied: 'I want it sooner than that.' 'And one with whom was the knowledge of the Scriptures said: I will bring it unto thee in the twinkling of an eye'[102] There are, however, also other explanations about the words, 'in the twinkling of an eye,' which pertain to the province of commentaries [of the Qurân], but the principal historians agree that these words were spoken by Asaf, the son of Barahia, and that he promised to produce the throne of Balqis. It is related that he knew the ineffable name of Allah, and that whenever he implored the Lord and Granter of requests by this name, his prayers were accepted and responded to. When Sulimân—u. w. b., etc.—perceived the throne [of Balqis] by his side, he exclaimed: 'This favour is one of the bounties of the Omnipotent Nourisher, by which He tries me whether I am grateful for His benefits, or am unthank-

[101] Qurân, ch. xxvii. 39. [102] *Ibid.*, 40.

ful to Him; and whoever is grateful, the advantages of his disposition redound upon himself.'

It is related that on the day of the arrival of Balqis Sulimân ordered a place of meeting to be arranged, in comparison to which the age-stricken firmament appeared as nothing [in brilliancy]. He commanded the throne of Balqis to be adorned in another manner, and to be placed opposite to his own. When Balqis reached the foot of the exalted presence, Sulimân took her dignity into consideration, and seated her near himself upon the throne of prophecy. After Balqis had thus taken her place, she looked now and then towards her own throne, and Sulimân, or Asaf—according to different traditions—asked whether this throne was her own. She replied: 'As though it were the same,'[103] and neither positively denied nor affirmed it. When Sulimân became aware of the intelligence of Balqis, he sent her to live with his sister, who apprised him, after the expiration of forty days, of the noble virtues, exquisite qualities, and exalted disposition of her guest. His lordship thereon determined to string this royal pearl of the diadem of sovereignty upon the thread of matrimony, at these news, however, the ladies of Sulimân became distressed, and, for the purpose of causing the noble prophetic mind to get disgusted with Balqis, they enviously spread the rumour that her legs were extremely hairy. Sulimân, being desirous to convince himself with his own eyes of the truth of this report, ordered the demons to build a palace on the surface of the water, which should appear to the beholder as if it were likewise of water. His lordship then took up his position at a spot near which anyone wishing to approach him was obliged to pass. On this occasion he called Balqis to himself, who obeyed, but on reaching the edge of the palace [or rather pavement], imagined it to be water, and bared her legs for the purpose of stepping into it in order to reach Sulimân; his lordship, however, said: 'It is not water, but glass; place thy foot on it and come.' Balqis was embarrassed, and commenced to excuse herself,

[103] Qurân, ch. xxvii. 42.

as Allah—w. n. b. e.—says in the glorious Qurân: 'O Lord, I have dealt unjustly with my own soul, and I resign myself together with Sulimân unto Allah, the Lord of all creatures.'[104] After Balqis had made her profession of Islâm, he entered with her into a[c] matrimonial alliance, and considered how the hairs of her blessed legs might be removed. The demons thereon invented the bath and the use of mortar, the comfort ensuing from the former, and the cleanliness from the latter, having before that time been lost among the children of men.

According to some historians, Sulimân ordered a throne of gold to be constructed for Balqis, around which were four lions, invented by the acuteness of those who excelled in talismanic arts. The lions were near the supports of the throne, but inside, and vomited fire from their throats. On the back of each lion two vultures were perched, whose eyes were of rubies and teeth of pearls. Whenever Sulimân ascended this throne, and sat on it with Balqis, two eagles poured rosewater upon them moderately, and according to their requirements. On the two upper extremities of this couch, a pair of birds were stationed, which so spread their wings around the throne, that whenever Sulimân desired with Balqis to be seen by no one, they were completely screened. At the sides of the throne four peacocks were erected, whose beaks constantly exhaled a perfume of ambergris. It is said that near the chair whereon Asaf, the son of Barahia, used to sit, a lion was stationed, who attacked any person bearing false testimony. The author of these pages observes, that whoever thinks similar events and figures to be remote from [being brought into existence by] Divine predestination, belongs to the number of those who have not dived into the ocean of the power of God as they ought to have done.

[c] Distich: If thou hast not become a Sulimân in the path of love,
What knowest thou of the language of all the birds?

[104] Qurân, ch. xxvii. 45.

RECORD OF THE TRIAL OF SULIMÂN, U. W. B., ETC.

He, whose magnificence be exhalted, has said: 'We also tried Sulimân, and placed on his throne a [counterfeit] body.'[105] Concerning the trial of Sulimân, and the 'body thrown on the chair,' there are various opinions, and the musk-dropping reed will narrate some of them worth recording, as follows: Some say that the 'body thrown' refers to his son's body, on account of whom Sulimân fell into the trial; as Abu Harira relates that Sulimân had three hundred wives and seven hundred concubines, and had said: 'It is my intention to have connection with all of them, so that each may bear me a son, to fight in religious wars for the cause of Allah.' He, however, had not added to this declaration the words 'if it pleaseth Allah,' and, therefore, after he had intercourse with them, none of them became pregnant except one. When the confinement of this lady took place, she gave birth to a child who had only one eye, one ear, one hand, and one foot. The prophet—u. w. b., etc.—has said. '[I swear] By Him in whose hands the soul of Muhammad is, that if he [*i.e.*, Sulimân] had praised [God], he would have obtained what he coveted [namely], champions to fight in religious wars for the cause of Allah.' When Sulimân beheld what had taken place, he became melancholy, and was overwhelmed with grief. It is said that one day when his lordship was sitting with Asaf, the mother, and the infant, he uttered lamentations; but Asaf said: 'Every one of us must reveal that which is in his mind, and of which no one is aware except He who knows the future. We must pray for the cure of this infant; perhaps the inscrutable Omnipotent One will grant our request.' All approved of this suggestion; whereon Sulimân said: 'O God, Thou knowest that despite of all my power and magnificence, if a man comes to me with an apple as a present, and another with empty hands, I shall be more pleased with the former than with the latter individual.' Then he turned his face to the Qiblah

[105] Qurân, ch. xxxviii. 33.

of prayers, and continued: 'My God, if Thou knowest that these words of mine are true, do not withhold the cure from this infant!' After he had terminated his devotions, the Lord and Granter of benefits presented the child with the other eye and ear. Then Asaf said: 'O Lord, Thou knowest how often I have besought Sulimân to relieve me of the office of being his prime-minister, and that in this request my heart agreed not with my tongue. If I have spoken the truth, deprive not this child of a glance of Thy mercy. After Asaf had uttered these words, the Almighty bestowed the other hand upon the child. Then the mother of the infant prayed, saying: 'O Lord, Thou knowest that although Sulimân, with all his pomp and grandeur, is my spouse, I, nevertheless, wished any man whom I beheld to have become my husband. If I am veracious in this confession, bestow health upon my son.' Then Allah—w. n. b. e. —granted the child the other foot, and made his supports correct. After the boy had thus obtained the perfection of all his limbs, Sulimân loved him greatly, and his penetrating mind was engaged in trying to discover an affable and kind man to whom he might entrust this fruit of the garden of paradise. It is related in some traditions that the genii came to Sulimân and requested him to surrender the boy to them that they might take care of him; whereon his lordship granted their request, and entrusted him with the apple of his eye. This proceeding, however, was not approved of at the palace of Unity, wherefore the angel of death was ordered to snatch away the soul of that first-fruit, and to throw his body on the chair of Sulimân. Hence the words of the Most High, 'And placed on the throne a [counterfeit] body,'[106] which was the body of the dead son.

It is said that after the death of his son Sulimân deplored his loss. On that occasion, the Absolute Sovereign despatched two angels to him in human shape, one of whom accused the other as follows: 'I have sown something on the road, and when the harvest had become green and flourishing, this individual passed, and by sheer

[106] Qurân, ch. xxxviii. 33.

violence destroyed my crop.' Sulimân asked the accused: 'Why hast thou done this?' He replied: 'O prophet of Allah, I was one day walking, when I suddenly arrived at a field near the road, and though I looked to the left and the right, I could find no passage by which to cross it, therefore I necessarily stepped into the field and went through it.' Sulimân now turned to the complainant, and said: 'Thou oughtest not to have sown the seed on the way where the people pass, to avoid the harvest being spoiled.' The man retorted: 'This world is the road to death; neither oughtest thou to have sown thy child on the road, then thou wouldst have avoided this sorrow and grief.' Sulimân perceived the truth of his words, arose from the assembly of lamentation, and blotted out of his mind the melancholy and grief for the loss of his son.

There is a tradition of Wuhub Bin Muniah—u. w. b., etc. —that by the 'trial' of Sulimân his kingdom is meant which he lost, and that the 'body' means a demon, who was by divine predestination allowed to sit forty days on the throne of his lordship the prophet, which event took place in the following manner: Sulimân—u. w. b., etc.—had heard that in a certain island there was an idolatrous king, Sidûn by name, and being accustomed to spend the whole of his previous time in combating the enemies of the religion, he commanded the wind to take up his carpet and to transport it to the said isle, the king whereot he soon killed, and made a prisoner of his daughter, who was distinguished by elegance and beauty. Love for this princess was soon kindled in the heart of Sulimân. Satan, however, considered this to be a good opportunity for bringing a great trial upon the world by his machinations. He therefore assumed the shape of one of the nurses of the princess, made his appearance at the gate of the castle, and asked for admission. The fairy-like damsel obtained the permission of Sulimân, and allowed Satan, disguised as a nurse, to enter, whereon he immediately began to deplore the fall of her father's kingdom, and said to her: 'How canst thou live in peace and friendship with Sulimân,

who has killed thy father, made thee a prisoner, and has turned the realm upside down?' The princess then began to weep, and Satan asked how she spent her time after having been separated from her father? She replied:

Distich: 'My days pass in grief, and nights in burning pain;
Far from thee I am leading a sad life.'

Eblis said: 'There is a remedy for this! When Sulimân visits thee, thou must not cease to weep and to speak. If he asks thee for the cause of thy crying, tell him how anxious thou art to behold thy father. Request him to order the demons to construct a figure of stone to represent thy father, by looking at which in the morning and evening thy sorrowful mind might be comforted.' The unsuspecting daughter acted according to the instigation of Satan, and Sulimân commanded some demons to make a statue resembling her father. They obeyed, and delivered the figure to the princess, who had followed idolatry before she associated with Sulimân; and she considered this statue to be a great blessing, and began to worship it like an idol in the company of her maid-servants. Sulimân knew nothing of this till after the expiration of forty days, when the rumour spread among the people that the princess was worshipping an idol; some veracious informers accordingly reported the case to Asaf, and felt greatly distressed. The prime-minister replied: 'Be at ease, for I shall bring this event to the notice of Sulimân in a proper manner.' He thereon immediately waited on Sulimân, saying: 'O prophet of Allah, the weakness of old age has overtaken me, and before the expiration of the time of my life, I desire in a select assembly to explain the virtues and illustrious acts of the prophets, for the purpose of augmenting the religious sentiments of the people.' In consequence of this request of Asaf, Sulimân immediately ordered the various tribes of genii and men to make their appearance; who, having presented themselves, Asaf narrated in an eloquent manner the correct history of the virtues and noble acts of every prophet of past times.

When the turn came to speak about Sulimân, Asaf limited his remarks to the acts which he had performed in his youth, and before the decease of his father. Sulimân was highly displeased and chagrined by this brevity, and when the people had dispersed he asked Asaf: 'What was thy reason for restricting the narrative of my deeds to past times, and not mentioning any of them vouchsafed to me by Allah—w. n. b. e.—after the time of my father?' Asaf replied. 'I cannot laud or praise a man in whose house idolatry is practised since forty days!' Sulimân queried: 'In my house?' Asaf replied affirmatively, and narrated what was taking place. Sulimân then uttered the words: 'We belong to Allah and unto Him we shall return.'[107] He then left the assembly, went to his domicile, broke the idol, and punished the daughter of Sidûn. After that he dressed himself in clean clothes, woven by the hands of virgins, ordered ashes to be strewed in his private apartment, in which he sat down, engaged in lamentations and craved pardon. When night set in he issued from his oratory, and entrusted, according to his usual custom, his signet-ring to a girl of the harem, whose name was Jarâda, but whilst he was going to answer a call of nature an E'frit [demon], Sakhar by name, assumed the form of Sulimân, appeared to Jarâda, took the ring from her, and placing it on his own finger, took his seat on the throne of Sulimân, whereon genii and men girded their loins in obedience to him. When Sulimân returned, he asked Jarâda for the ring, but she replied that she had given it to its owner, asked him who he was, and told him that she knew him not. Jarâda had not recognised Sulimân because his countenance was somewhat changed. Whilst he was expostulating with her about the ring, he threw a glance at his throne, and perceived an individual sitting thereon. Then he became convinced that on account of those shameless persons, who had in his house attempted to adore another god besides the Creator, the Absolute Sovereign had wrested the reins of dominion from the

[107] Qurân, ch. ii. 151.

grasp of his power. Therefore he no longer asked for the ring, but went away.

It is related that when Sulimân lost his kingdom, he used to wander about as a mendicant. When people asked who he was, he replied: 'I am Sulimân!' The people accused him of folly, threw dust at his blessed head and face, and said: 'Thou madman art Sulimân? Behold him sitting on his throne in pomp and glory!' It is the opinion of some that the individual who assumed the form of Sulimân was a demon.

Hasan Bosri states that his lordship the prophet [Solomon] arrived one day hungry at the house of an Esrâilite, the ring of the door whereof he shook, and a woman, stepping out, queried: 'What is thy business?' Sulimân replied: 'I desire to be hospitably entertained by thee one hour.' The female said: 'Thou art a stranger, and my husband is absent. Go into the garden adjoining our house; there thou wilt find water and fruits also. Tarry awhile there till my husband arrives, who will fulfil the duties of hospitality towards thee.' Sulimân then entered the garden, drank a little water, ate some fruit, and fell asleep. On that occasion a black serpent passed near him, and, recognising the Lord Sulimân by a Divine revelation, it took a fragrant sprig from the garden into his mouth, and began to drive away the flies from his blessed face. Just then the owner of the garden arrived, whose wife informed him of the advent of a guest. Accordingly he went into the garden, where he saw that happiness is in sleep, and that a snake was attending upon Sulimân. Being amazed at the spectacle, he called his wife and showed it to her. When he approached Sulimân, the reptile withdrew to a corner. He awakened the prophet, accosted him with civility, and said: 'We have become aware of thy high station, and how precious thou art in the sight of Allah the magnificent and glorious! Consider this place as thy own. I have a handsome daughter, and wish to give her in marriage to thee. Grant this request, and live in comfort in the house of thy servant.' Sulimân was pleased with

this proposal, married the girl, and remained three days and nights in the house. On the fourth day Sulimân informed the people of the house that he could not bear the trouble of supporting him to devolve upon them. He then departed from the house, proceeded to the seashore, and dwelt with fishermen until the time of his deliverance from misery and affliction arrived, which took place in the following manner: When the genius Sakhar had taken possession of the throne of Sulimân, he mixed with mankind only reluctantly, and spent most of his time in the society of his own species During those forty days he issued orders contrary to wisdom and to religion, so that the people were displeased with his illegal acts, and complained to Asaf, who informed them that he suspected this individual not to be Sulimân, but another person. For the purpose of instituting closer inquiries, Asaf paid visits to the spouses and concubines of his lordship the refuge of prophecy, and asked about him, but received the answer that Sulimân had not come among them for some time. Asaf then said to the people. 'This malefactor is not Sulimân, but a demon who has taken his place.' Whilst Sakhar enjoyed the supreme power, he composed writings on magic and sorcery, sealed them with the ring of Sulimân, and concealed them under his throne. After the demise of his lordship the prophet, the Satans took possession of those superstitious compositions, attributed them to him, and thus they obtained currency with the human race. The words of the Most High are: 'They followed [the device] which the devils devised against the kingdom of Sulimân; and Sulimân was not an unbeliever, but the devils believed not, they taught men sorcery.'[108] When the people and the grandees of the children of Esrâil were disputing about Sakhar, they began, for the purpose of deciding that important matter, to read the Mosaic Law in his presence. That flagitious individual was, however, unable to listen to it, disappeared from the throne, and cast the ring of Sulimân into the sea. A fish swallowed

[108] Qurân, ch. ii. 96.

the ring by the command of God, and was afterwards caught in the net of a fisherman whose assistant Sulimân was. The fisherman gave the fish to Sulimân as payment for his wages, and in the evening when he went home Sulimân handed the fish to his wife to roast it. When the woman had slit open the abdomen of the fish, she caught sight of the ring, the brilliancy whereof illuminated the whole house. Sulimân then put the ring on his finger, and at that very moment the various tribes of men, genii, beasts, and birds assembled near the palace of the refuge of dominion, and although such a [miraculous] ring had fallen into the possession of the demon, he had not been able to enjoy it or to take advantage of it

Distich : If there be not the finger of Sulimân,
What property does the signet-ring impart ?

It is related after Ebn A'bbâs, that when Sulimân took his position on the throne of magnificence, he ordered the demons to produce Sakhar, and to bring him to his presence. They obeyed, whereon he fettered and shackled the demon with his adherents and cast them all into the sea The most magnificent of speakers has said. 'And others [we delivered to him] bound in chains.'[109] And the prophet [Muhammad]—u. w. b., etc—has said: 'In the last times Satans will come forth, whom Sulimân, the son of Dâud—u. w. b, etc—has cast into the sea They will associate with you, and [attempt to] teach you the decrees of your religion, but receive them not from them.'

It will not be hidden to the minds of discerning readers that, although the narrative of the trial of Sulimân has been protracted to this length, many words have remained unsaid and many pearls unstrung with reference to this subject:

Distich : I made many words, but untold remains
The story of the enticing, and the enticed lover.

It is related in several histories that the building of the Holy House, the invitation issued by Sulimân to all crea-

[109] Qurân, ch. xxxviii. 37.

tures, and the consumption of all the eatables by the sea-monster, narrated above in these pages, took place after the second instalment of Sulimân on the throne; but Allah knows best the true state of the case.

STORY OF THE RETROGRADATION OF THE SUN FOR THE SAKE OF THE LORD SULIMÂN, BY ORDER OF THE LORD OF LORDS.

This event took place in the following manner: On a certain occasion costly horses were presented to Sulimân—u. w. b, etc.—the sun was setting, and he unwittingly neglected to recite his evening orisons. Sulimân—as is well known among the people—was so affected by this omission, that he drew his sword and separated the legs and necks of the horses from their bodies. He, whose glory is to be magnified, has said. 'When those [horses] standing on three feet, and touching the ground with the edge of the fourth foot, [and] swift in the course, were set in parade before him in the evening, he said, Verily, I have loved the love of [the earthly] good above the remembrance of my Lord · [and have spent the time in viewing these horses] until [the sun] is hidden by the veil of [night]; bring the [horses] back unto me. [And when they were brought back] he began to cut off [their] legs and [their] necks.'[110] In this verse the words *sâfinat va jiâd* mean horses that stand on three legs and on the edge of the hoof of the fourth foot. The word 'good' alludes to the horses, and in the Hadith [tradition] the phrase 'good' in connection with their foreheads is added. In this blessed verse 'the remembrance of the Lord' means 'prayers.' It is related that A'li the elect—u. w. b., etc.—said: 'How is it possible to conceive that a prophet could do an act which a tyrant would scarcely attempt to commit?' [*i.e.*, of killing horses by mutilating them]; and the words *fatafiqa mashan bissuqi walla'nâqi* mean only that Sulimân rubbed their legs and necks with his hands, and presented them all to valiant men who went to religious wars; and God Almighty, for

[110] Qurân, ch. xxxviii. 30-32

the purpose of pacifying his conscience, caused the sun to rise in the west, so that Sulimân recited his prayers at the appointed time. 'This is a favour of Allah; He giveth it to whom He pleaseth.'

RECORD OF THE DECEASE OF SULIMÂN, U. W. B., ETC.

Historians inform us that Sulimân had an altar at which he performed his devotions to God—w. n. b. e.—and in that oratory a tree made every day its appearance from the invisible world. When it arrived one day as usual, Sulimân asked: 'What is thy name?' The tree replied: 'Kharrûb.' He continued: 'What is thy quality?' It answered: 'The destruction of royalty and power.' Sulimân rejoined: 'I have understood' After that the Creator of life and death sent him a revelation, that as his departure was at hand he ought to prepare for the journey to the next world. Sulimân then made his last will, and committed everything important to writing, then he besought the Lord Most Glorious and Most High to keep his death concealed from the genii and from the Satans, that they might finish the tasks he had imposed upon them. After that he put on the clothes for the inevitable journey, and entered the oratory which had been prepared for him of glass, and supported his body with the staff on which he was accustomed to lean when fatigued The grasper of souls thereon took hold of his pure spirit, and conveyed him to the garden of paradise The inconstant world occasionally thus addressed the following words of advice to his fellow-beings:

Distich: Seek not King Sulimân, for he is annihilated;
The kingdom is the same, but where is the king?

and sometimes it uttered these words:

Distich: To the eyes of the intelligent, Sulimân's realm is but wind,
But he is Sulimân who is free of the realm [of care].[111]

[111] Most of our author's poetical quotations are from Sa'di, but the above is from Khâjah Kermâni, who was born A.H. 679, and died 742 = A.D. 1281 and 1342. He was surnamed the 'bouquet-binder of poets.' —See Jami's 'Behâristân,' p. 162, translated for, and printed by, the Kama Shastra Society, 1887.

It is said that after Sulimân had entered his oratory he spent most of his time in prayer, during which his ministers governed the kingdom, and the Satans, in their state of obedience, were from awe abstaining to look at his blessed face. At last, however, when he had entered the oratory, and taken leave of life, their glances unwillingly alighted on his countenance from the outside of the glass house, but they imagined him to be engaged in his devotions.

After the stay of Sulimân in that place had become protracted beyond all reasonable expectations, one of the Efrits entered the oratory by one window and left it by another, but, contrary to his previous experience, failed to hear the voice of Sulimân reading. He therefore said to the other Satans: 'It is my opinion that Sulimân has departed from this world.' In order to gain certainty on the subject, he then procured a beetle, whose nourishment is water and earth, to make it gnaw the staff on which Sulimân was leaning. Others say that the beetle gnawed the staff of his lordship of its own accord without the co-operation of the Satans, and that the staff broke one year after the decease of Sulimân, so that he fell down. Thus they were convinced of his death, and spread the information in the world.

It has been said that the wisdom of Sulimân in thus desiring to conceal his death, was to undeceive those men who believed in the pretensions of the Satans, by which they asserted that they were cognizant of hidden matters and of the secrets of futurity; but when Sulimân departed to the eternal mansion, and this great event remained unknown to them for a whole year, people became convinced of the falsehood of their pretensions. He whose name be glorified has said: 'And when [his body] fell down, the genii plainly perceived that if they had known that which is secret they had not continued in a vile punishment.'[112] Several historians have alleged that the object of Sulimân's wishing to keep his death a secret was, to get the demons [not to cease their labours, but] to complete the Holy

[112] Qurân, ch. xxxiv. 13.

House. God, however, knows best the true state of all matters.

RECORD OF THE AFFAIRS OF LOQMÂN THE PHILOSOPHER.[113]

We learn from the majority of historical works that Loqmân was not a prophet, but as he was constantly in the company of Dâud—u. w. b., etc.—and performed wonderful things, his qualities were considered to partake of prophecy and of philosophy. The principal historians have narrated his biography, along with those of the great prophets; wherefore the author of these pages will also relate some of his acts in this volume containing the eulogies of prophets, as he has obtained permission to do so, from the exalted assembly which is the cause of the composition of this work. But He vouchsafes innocence and grace who says: 'We heretofore bestowed wisdom on Loqmân.'[114]

Muhammad Bin Mahmûd Shaharruzi—u. w. b., etc.—has related in the *Târikh-i-Hukmâ*, that Loqmân was a black from Nubia, which belongs to the realm of Abyssinia; that he was a slave of some ancient Arabs dwelling in Syria, where he studied the sciences and improvement of morals, and lastly departed thence to the mansion of the next world. He was buried in the town of Ramla, in the province of Filisteen The just-named author—upon whom be the mercy of Allah—informs us that according to another tradition Loqmân was a negro slave, with thick lips and large feet, occupied in pasturing sheep. After the expiration of a long period of time, an individual who had been the companion of Loqmân when he was a shepherd, observed that numerous persons frequented the company of Loqmân, profited thereby, and listened to philosophical discussions. This companion asked him, 'Art thou not the same man who was my partner in grazing sheep?' He gave an affirmative reply, and the friend continued, 'By what means hast thou attained such high dignity?' He

[113] Loqmân is by some believed to have been Æsop. See 'Arabic Authors,' pp. 26, 27 (Wm. Heinemann, 1890).
[114] Qurân, ch. xxxi. 11.

replied, 'By speaking the truth, by returning what was confided to me, and by abstaining from words which could not profit me.'

According to another tradition, a man of the children of Esrâil had purchased Loqmân for thirty misqâls of gold, and he gathered wood for his master. The latter was one day playing chess[115] with an improper companion, on the bank of a river, on condition that the loser in the game was either to drink out all the water of the river, or to forfeit one half of his property to the victor. The owner of Loqmân happened to be the loser, whereon his antagonist challenged him to drink out the river; but as he was unable to do that, he agreed to pay the property stipulated for. He asked, however, to be respited awhile, and his antagonist even offered to renounce his claim, in case he could bring a proper answer and a suitable excuse. The unlucky wight returned home and spent the whole night meditating how to get out of the scrape. In the morning the lord Loqmân brought a load of wood to the house, according to his usual custom, and made haste to pay his respects to his master, whom he found sad and melancholy. He asked for the reason of his grief, but the master turned his face the other way, and would give no reply. Loqmân reiterated his query, and said: 'In such a circumstance there is no use in shirking the matter, it being possible that I may succeed in solving the difficulty.' The master then explained his case to Loqmân, whereon his lordship, the receptacle of wisdom, said: 'This is an easy matter; let us go to the river-bank and conquer the antagonist.' They went there, and when the victor asked about the property, Loqmân said: 'We must go to the spot of the contest, that my master may drink the water.' Accordingly, all three betook themselves to the place, and arriving there, Loqmân said: 'If thou wantest my master to drink the water which flowed yesterday, when you were playing chess, then produce it, that the condition may be literally fulfilled; but if thou desirest him to consume the water at present flowing

[115] The word used in the text means also draughts, dice, etc.

between the two banks, then cause it to stop, that he may obey thy behest. If, however, it be thy will that he should drink the water above this place, then separate it, that it may not be commingled with this water, to enable my master to swallow it, because he has certainly not made a bargain with thee to consume all the water that flowed here from the beginning to the end of the world; therefore thou must first comply with one of the demands just stated' The conqueror was confused by these words, and, unable to answer, was glad to escape. As a mark of gratitude for this service, the owner presented Loqmân with his liberty, but the first manifestation of his intellect and wisdom which obtained currency among men was the above event.

Some assert that the manumission of Loqmân took place in the following manner One day his master commanded him to slaughter a sheep, and to bring the best portion thereof to him. Loqmân obeyed, bringing the heart and the tongue to the master After some days he again ordered him to slay a sheep, but to bring the worst parts of it; Loqmân, however, produced the heart and the tongue as on the first occasion. The master then questioned him on this subject, and received the following answer: 'Although the tongue, as long as it abstains from improper words, is accounted by sages to be the best member, it becomes the worst in the contrary case' Others allege that the cause of Loqmân's emancipation was that one year his master had ordered him to sow sesame, but on going into the field discovered that he had sown oats. He therefore reproved Loqmân, and said: 'Have I not told thee to sow sesame in this field?' Loqmân replied: 'Yes, thou hast commanded it.' He continued. 'Then why hast thou sown oats?' Loqmân answered· 'I was under the impression that the oats might be transmuted into sesame.' The gentleman queried. 'How did this impression originate?' Loqmân continued: 'When I perceived that, despite of thy evil acts, thou imaginest that the Almighty—w. n. b. e. —will have mercy on thee, and will convey thee to paradise,

I thought that if sinful deeds be a cause for pardon, and for the attainment of eternal salvation, it is also possible that oats will be turned into sesame.' The owner having been admonished by these words, granted him his freedom.

It is a universally received opinion that the omnipotent and absolute Lord gave to Loqmân the option between prophecy and wisdom, but that he selected the latter. Several chroniclers have related that he had been offered the mission to invite [the people] to [accept] the religion of Mûsa, or wisdom, and that he accepted the latter. Other learned men, on the contrary, believe him to have been a prophet, and consider him as an inspired messenger. It is related that Loqmân was in constant attendance upon Dâud—u. w. b., etc.—and that one day, when he made his appearance at the court of the latter, he perceived that his lordship was softening iron like wax without the aid of fire, and making rings of it for coats of mail. Loqmân was astonished at this feat, but refrained from asking any questions. When Dâud had finished a cuirass he rose, put it on his body, uttering in Syriac the words *Zardalha bilqarâia,* which mean, 'It is a good coat of mail for a day of battle' When Loqmân perceived that he had been informed of the matter without the trouble of questioning, he said: 'Silence is the greatest wisdom, but few know how to use it.'

Tradition informs us that one day a company of angels paid a visit to Loqmân at the time of his meridian nap. They saluted him, but he saw not their faces, and after returning their salutations, queried: 'Who are you?' They replied: 'We are the envoys of the Omnipotent Nourisher, and we make thee a Khalifah upon earth, that thou mayest judge righteously among men.' Loqmân replied: 'If the Almighty—w. n. b. pr.—orders me by way of command to take upon myself the office of the Khalifate, I have no choice but to comply and to obey; but if He leaves it to my option, I would prefer to remain free of it.' The angels asked: 'Why dislikest thou the dignity of a judge?' He rejoined: 'It is difficult to walk in the way of government, and a judge is exposed to trials. If he deals unrighteously

he will be disappointed in the next world, and if he adheres to truth, he is deceived in this world. Whoever is slighted and despised in the present world will, on the day of the resurrection, be accounted higher than the noble and exalted judge; and who prefers [the happiness of] this world to [that of] the next will be disappointed in both, since the blessings of the former perish soon, and the consequences of the sins committed therein entail chastisement in the latter.' The angels were astonished at the beauty and eloquence of his arguments, which were highly approved of in the palace of self-existence likewise, so that Loqmân was spared the installation to the dignity of governing, and the trials awaiting the judicial office. When the night set in, the portals of wisdom were, by divine favour, thrown open to his enlightened mind, and the fountains of supernatural knowledge gushed forth from his penetrating spirit, so that in the morning, when he rose from his couch, he was the wisest man among his contemporaries. After Loqmân had been excused from the judicial dignity, and the Khalifate had been transferred to Dâud, his excellency the repository of wisdom frequently visited his lordship the prophet, who often said to him 'Blessed art thou, O Loqmân, for thou hast approached wisdom, and hast removed temptation from thyself.'

It is said that by the kindness of the owner, who had given freedom to Loqmân, the latter came into the possession of some property with which he traded, and a portion of which he lent to the people without demanding securities or pledges, but appointed one of his sons to collect the sums due to him. It is said that he once despatched this son on the just-mentioned business to another country, and spoke to him as follows: 'In this journey thou wilt arrive near a green and flourishing tree, under which there is a spring; but thou must neither sit down under the former nor drink of the latter. On this occasion thou wilt also pass through a town the governor of which will offer thee his daughter in marriage; beware, however, of accepting her. When thou arrivest in the country of our debtor, who possesses a

castle near the seashore, take care not to accept his invitation to spend the night therein.' He also added: 'If thou meetest in this journey a man older than thyself, and he commands thee to do something, disobey him not.' Then Loqmân took leave of his son, saying: 'May Allah cause safety to accompany thee.' The son departed, and after he had travelled for a short time, he met an old man, and asked him for permission to accompany him. He granted it, whereon they travelled together, and reached a green and flourishing tree, at the foot of which there was a fountain of water. The old man said to the youth: 'Alight in this spot, and when the air gets cool we will continue our journey together.' The son of Loqmân replied: 'My father has prohibited me to halt at this place' The old man continued: 'But he has also ordered thee to mind the words of thy aged companion.' The son of Loqmân being satisfied with this explanation, they halted, and he fell asleep. The old man watched him, and soon perceived a serpent crawling down from the tree towards the son of Loqmân; then he struck the serpent with his cane and slew it. When the youth awoke, his companion asked him. 'Knowest thou why thy father had prohibited thee from stopping in this place?' He replied: 'I know not' The old man continued: 'Because everyone who had alighted in this locality, and reposed, was stung and killed by the serpent which thou seest. By the power of God I have now put a stop to its evil deeds.' Then he cut off the head of the snake, wrapped it in a cloth which he placed in a bag, and they departed from that place Afterwards they arrived in the town, and took up their lodgings in the house of the governor, who showed them much hospitality, and offered his daughter, with a great deal of property, to the son of Loqmân, who, however, refused to marry her. The old man asked: 'Why refusest thou to take possession of the maiden and of the riches?' He replied. 'My father has prohibited me.' His aged companion said: 'I admit that; but he has also enjoined thee not to disobey him who is older than thyself.' The youth said, Yes,' and the old man con-

tinued: 'It is my opinion that you should consent to this marriage.' Acting on this advice, he asked for the hand of the lady, whereon the old man handed to him the head of the serpent he had killed, and said: 'Before having connexion with thy bride, thou must place this on fire, and order her to spread her skirts over it, so that the smoke may permeate the lower parts of her body.' The son of Loqmân acted according to the advice of his companion; but when the smoke had reached the said parts of her body, she uttered a fearful shriek and fainted, whereon a big dead worm was seen to issue in front of her. After a short time the lady recovered her senses, and spent that night joyfully in the arms of the son of Loqmân. In the morning the old companion met his young friend, and questioned him concerning the events of the night, which the latter duly narrated to him. The old man then said: 'Thy father has warned thee not to marry this lady, because whoever did so, and had connexion with her, was bitten by this worm and died.' After they had remained several days in the house of the governor, the young man took leave, and travelled, in the company of his aged friend, to the place to which his father had sent him. They arrived on the sea-shore, at the castle of the governor, who was their debtor. He received the son of Loqmân with affability, invited him to alight and to rest that night from the fatigues of the journey, promising to pay the debt the next day. The youth remembered the injunction of his father, and refused, but afterwards complied at the suasion of his companion. Their host entertained them hospitably, brought forth the sum which he owed, and again requested the son of Loqmân to stay for the night, and to take the money the next morning whenever he pleased. The habit, however, of that wretch was that, when anyone who had a claim on him consented to remain during the night, a bed was prepared close to the sea, so that when the guest fell asleep that blackhearted malefactor approached him, and with the assistance of a confidant precipitated him into the sea. The son of Loqmân stopped during the night, and, according to

the usual custom, a couch was brought close to the edge of the sea for him, and another for the son of the governor. When the two last-mentioned youths had fallen asleep, the acute old companion awoke the son of Loqmân, removed his bed from the place where it was, and placed that of the governor's son in its stead. During the night the malefactor arrived with his confidant, and, taking up his own son under the impression that he was Loqman's, he threw him into the water and returned joyfully to the house. In the morning, however, when the son of Loqmân entered the castle to take his money, the governor was astounded and confused, but paid his debt with shame and regret. Thereon the son of Loqmân returned sound and safe with the daughter of the first governor, and much property, to his father, whom he was happy to meet after having successfully performed the journey. Several historians have narrated that towards the end of his life Loqmân retired from intercourse with mankind, and dwelt between Ramla and Jerusalem, until he was conveyed to the propinquity of the mercy of the Lord of both worlds.

Records of the Moral Maxims of the Lord Loqmân.

Loqmân said to his son Thârân: 'Be always patient and truthful; subject thy passions to thy principles, and never commit forbidden acts. Be abstemious in this world, despise misfortunes, and love nothing more than the bliss of eternal salvation. Be content with little and satisfied with thy daily nourishment predestined for thee, and covet not riches, that thou mayest remain free from sensuality. Be hungry of victuals, but filled with wisdom; speak not uncivilly to anyone, but meditate a great deal, and consider silence to be thy duty, that thou mayest remain free from the evil consequences of loquacity. When people praise thee for something which exists not in thy nature, do not suffer thyself to be deceived, because by foolish words a potsherd will never be transmuted into a pearl. Quarrel not with superiors, despise not inferiors, and ask not help from fools. Do not work for the loss of thy own,

and the gain of the property of others. Thy property is that which thou accumulatest for the next world, and not that which thou leavest to others for an inheritance. Oh, my son! take refuge with God—w. n. b. e.—from bad and wicked women; and be on thy guard from good women, because all their ways tend to evil. If thou desirest to tie the knot of brotherhood with anyone, that he may be of use to thee in hardship and distress, select him for a friend and brother whom thou findest equitable, even under the provocation of anger, or else be on thy guard. Do not allow thyself to be influenced by suspicions, because then no one will be thy friend. Be affable, open, sincere, easy in transactions, and not morose, because thus thou wilt cement amity. It is more easy for princes to die than to govern flagitious men. When kings are misers, they leave a bad name behind; it is, nevertheless, better to spend little judiciously than to expend much with prodigality.'

RECORD OF THE COMPANION OF THE FISH YÛNAS [JONAH], THE SON OF MATTI—U. W. B., ETC.

Although after Sulimân his children inherited the kingdom from generation to generation, the author of this work was unable to ascertain their correct names, and as also their histories cannot be obtained in detail from the books that have come under his notice, the reed of explanation abstains from giving accounts of them, but proceeds to describe the affairs of Yûnas:

Allah—w. n b. pr. a s.—has said 'Yûnas [was also one] of those who were sent [by us] when he fled into the loaded ship,'[116] and the most magnificent of sayers has also said: 'When he departed in wrath' (till the end of the verse).[117] Yûnas was a celebrated prophet, but as his people accused him of falsehood, and he was unable to bear their insults, he left them without the permission of God. Those who have speculated about the expression *Uvlu-l-a'zm*, consider him to have been one to whom this

[116] Qurân, ch. xxxvii. 139, 140. [117] *Ibid.*, ch. xxi. 87.

epithet was applied.[118] The Lord Almighty, addressing the seal of prophets in the glorious Qurân, said: 'Therefore be patient as the *Uvlu-l-a'zm* of the messengers [apostles] were patient.'[119] He also said: 'Be patient under the command of thy Lord, and be not like the companion of the fish.' Commentators have in various manners explained the expression, 'when he departed in wrath,' one of which will be mentioned, and for the others the reader is referred to the works of commentators.

All the chief historians have related that when, after the death of Sulimân, his descendants inherited the kingdom, they began, in course of time, to quarrel with each other, wherefore the adjoining kings coveted the dominions of Sulimân, and one of them, namely, the King of Ninva [Niniveh], which is in Arabian Mesopotamia, marched with his army against the Jews, and conquered them. He made a portion of the tribes prisoners, whereon God—w. n. b. e.—sent a revelation to one of the prophets of the children of Esrâil to tell the king to send a strong-minded prophet, one very steadfast in the execution of divine commands, to the inhabitants of Ninva, to preach to them, to invite them [to profess the Faith], and to rescue the children of Esrâil from their captivity. The king consulted intelligent men on this subject, and the choice fell on Yûnas, whom the king and the grandees then requested to undertake this mission. Yûnas asked: 'Has God —w. n. b. e.—appointed me by name to this undertaking?' They said: 'No; but He has commanded a prophet who is very strong in the religion to proceed to Ninva.' Yûnas continued: 'There are several prophets among the children of Esrâil more determined and stronger than I am. My opinion is that you ought to select another individual.' The king, however, made so many efforts, and used so much persuasion, that Yûnas was forced to comply, and to proceed to Ninva, where he arrived after duly performing the journey, and invited the inhabitants to accept the

[118] See Vol. I., note 84, *Record of Nûh*, who is there called the first *Uvlu-l a'zm*. [119] Qurân, ch. xlvi. 34.

religion of Mûsa, promising them the favour and pardon of God, and threatening them with the wrath of the [Omnipotent] Sovereign. He sojourned for a long time in Ninva, sermonizing about promises and threats, and about the judge and the judged, but was unable to produce any effect whatever, nor did anyone gird up the loins of obedience towards him. The inhabitants of Ninva would not release the captive Esrâilites, but insulted the prophet by speech and deed, and expelled him from their midst. Yûnas, however, returned to the city, and again engaged in guiding and directing the people, but the inhabitants of Ninva persisted in their obduracy and infidelity as before, and accused him of falsehood Yûnas then said to the people: 'If you will not believe, the chastisement of God will probably soon overtake you.' They replied: 'These words are of thy own invention' Then Yûnas raised his hands in prayer, and said. 'O Lord, the people accuse me of falsehood; send down Thy vengeance upon them.' When Yûnas had become aware that his prayers had met with response, he determined to emigrate with his family from the community, and at his departure said to the people of Ninva 'Verily the chastisement will come upon you after three days.' Then he turned the reins of his intention towards one of the mountains, with the determination to remain there till the arrival of the punishment, and to return to the city in case the inhabitants should repent, obey, and implore him to remove the affliction by his prayers. On this occasion the Lord Almighty—w. n. b. e, —despatched Jebrail to the owner of hell, with orders to convey some of the Simûms of the infernal regions to Ninva. The owner obeyed, and Jebrâil conveyed the burning wind to that city, which was thereon immediately surrounded by flames. The inhabitants of Ninva became frightened, and repented of their deeds, but in spite of their efforts to discover Yûnas, that they might profess their belief in his words, they were unable to find him. In the height of their distress they unanimously assembled without the city on the top of a hill, which was from that time called by the

name of 'the hill of lamentations' and 'the hill of repentance.' There they separated the children from their mothers and the young from the old, threw ashes on their own heads, put shackles of thorns on their feet, beginning to weep, to mourn, and to lament. After forty days and nights had elapsed in this manner, the Lord and Bounteous Granter commanded Jebrâil—at the intercession of the chief angels—to remove the punishment. Allah—the most magnificent and glorious—has said: 'And if it [were] not [so], some city [among the many which have been destroyed] would have believed, and the faith of its [inhabitants] would *have been of advantage to them*; [*but none of them* believed before the execution of their sentence] except the people of Yûnas.'[120]

It is related that after the release of the people of Ninva from the affliction, Yûnas left his refuge and went to the city to see what had become of the people. On the road he met an individual, inquired about this matter, and learnt what had passed, as has just been related Therefore Yûnas returned sad and angry, thinking that if he were to go among the people they would again accuse him of falsehood Some state that the source of evil, namely, Eblis, assumed the human form, and said to Yûnas · 'Go not to the city, because the people will accuse thee of falsehood.' Therefore he departed in wrath. Ebn A'bbâs—u w b, etc. —relates that everyone who imagines that his wrath originated from his thinking that the people would accuse him of falsehood, will be set right by the following verse which Allah uttered · 'And thought that We could not exercise power over him,'[121] namely, that the affliction and chastisement [of God] could not reach him.

Tradition informs us that after the cessation of the punishment of God, Yûnas joined his family on the seashore, where he found a ship full of men who were just starting on a voyage, whereon he requested them to be likewise allowed to embark with his followers, and they replied: 'Our ship is heavily laden; if it be convenient to

[120] Qurân, ch. x 98. [121] *Ibid.*, ch. xxi. 87.

thee, some of thy people may come on board, and the others may take passage in another vessel, which will follow us.' Yûnas agreed to this proposal, placed some persons on board, and waited with his two sons on the shore for the other vessel. After awhile he perceived a ship, and, desirous to obtain a passage therein, went on board. On this occasion the foot of one of his sons slipped, he fell into the water, and was drowned; meanwhile, a wolf arrived and robbed him of his other son. After Yûnas had thus been struck by a double misfortune, he knew that a calamity sent from above was impending over him. In consequence of this accident he entered the vessel on board of which the rest of his family had embarked before, and joined it, but when the ship had begun the voyage and was well in the sea, it stood in the midst of it, as it were, on a high and dry spot, by the command of the Omnipotent Inscrutable One, whilst other vessels passed on the right and left of it, asking the crew why they were stationary, and they replied. 'We know it not!' Yûnas, however, said · 'If you know not the reason, I know it.' They pressed him, and he continued: 'A servant has fled from his master, and has embarked on board this ship, which will not move from its place unless you throw him into the sea.'[122] They asked. 'Who is that servant?' He replied 'I' But as they knew him to be a prophet of God, they said 'The Lord forbid that we should throw thee into the sea, on the contrary, we consider our escape out of this vortex of perdition to depend upon thy noble existence.' Yûnas continued: 'Let us cast lots, and let us throw him into the water whose name comes up.' This having been done, the name of Yûnas appeared, whereon his lordship again requested the crew to throw him overboard; but they refused, and said. 'The lot sometimes hits wrong and sometimes right.' Another trial was then made, but his name again came forth Yûnas repeated his request again, and the people again demurred to eject him. The

[122] Jonah, ch. i. 12: 'And he said unto them, Take me up and cast me forth into the sea.'

Creator therefore ordered a fish to pass round the ship with open jaws, and the people beholding the yawning throat of the monster wherever they looked, ultimately threw Yûnas into the sea.

Some assert that his lordship leapt of his own accord into the water, and that on the said occasion the fish received the following command: 'Swallow Yûnas without in the least injuring any of his limbs; We have not made our prophet to be thy food, but have assigned thy abdomen to be his prison.' According to some opinions, Yûnas dwelt forty days and nights in the stomach of the sea-monster. After he had suffered affliction, the Absolute Sovereign removed the veil from the vision of his intelligence, and displayed to him the strange and wonderful things of the sea, so that Yûnas occupied himself by praising the Creator. Allah—w. n. b. e.—has said: 'And he cried out in the darkness [saying], There is no God beside Thee, praise be unto Thee! Verily, I have been one of the unjust.'[123] Some have said that by 'darkness' the obscurity of the night of the sea and of the abdomen of the fish are meant. It is related that the angels heard the voice of Yûnas, recognised it, and said, weeping: 'O God, we hear a feeble voice from a strange place.' The allocution then arrived: 'It is the voice of my servant Yûnas, who has sinned, and been imprisoned in the stomach of the fish. Draw ye from the way in which I punish my servants a conclusion how I shall chastise my foes!' After the angels had interceded for Yûnas, the Lord ordered Jebrâil to inform the fish that God was now satisfied with Yûnas, who was to be spewed out in the same locality where he had embarked on board the ship. Therefore the fish approached the shore by divine command, where it ejected Yûnas like an infant wrapped in swaddling clothes. The Lord most High and Magnificent immediately caused a gourd-tree to grow, under which Yûnas reposed, and a fawn of those prairies was inspired to feed him with milk. When Yûnas had recovered his former strength, the Lord

[123] Qurân ch. xxi. 87

Almighty—whose glory be magnified—ordered the sun to burn the said tree, so that it withered. The loss of that tree and the solar heat so distressed Yûnas that he wept; but the Lord—w. g. b. m—sent him the following message by Jebrâil: 'O Yûnas, this tree was not cherished by thy power to cause thee to deplore its disappearance with so much grief. Secondly, thou weepest more for a tree of no value than for the destruction of several thousand persons, for whom thou hast not cared in the least, and upon whose heads thou hast called down My chastisement by thy prayers.' Hereupon Yûnas implored pardon, and took refuge with the favour of the Lord of glory.

It is related that, after Yûnas had recovered his health, the Almighty—w. n. b. e. and magnified—ordered him to return to the people, but Yûnas replied: 'O Lord, sendest Thou me to a nation which desireth Thy Book, but [nevertheless] accuseth Thy messenger of falsehood?' Then again the divine revelation came: 'O Yûnas, are perchance the treasuries of My mercy in thy hands that thou wouldst withhold it from My servants? Knowest thou not that I soften obdurate hearts whenever I please, and that I open the ears of the deaf and the eyes of the blind?' Yûnas accordingly returned towards Ninva, and met a shepherd in the desert, whom he asked who he was. The man replied: 'I am of the people of Yûnas, the son of Matti.'[124] His lordship the prophet continued: 'What news hast thou about Yûnas? What has he done with this people?' He replied: 'Yûnas was the best of men; but when the people accused him of falsehood, he threatened them with chastisement, and disappeared. The punishment overtook the people as he had promised. After they had despaired of finding him, they repented of their sins, turned to the Lord, and God—who is the most merciful of the merciful—washed the volumes of their transgressions with the limpid streams of pardon, and granted them deliverance from the affliction of fire.' Then Yûnas asked the shepherd for a little milk, who, however, replied that he had none;

[124] Jonah, ch. i. 1: Jonah, the son of Amittai.

and, swearing by the pure essence of God, said: 'Since Yûnas left us, neither rain has fallen nor grass grown, so that the sheep must be fed on briars and thorns.' His lordship the refuge of prophecy said: 'I believe thou hast sworn by the God of Yûnas.' The shepherd replied: 'Whoever swears in our city by another than the God of the inhabitants of this world, his tongue is extracted from his throat.' Yûnas queried: 'Since what time has this religion originated among you?' He replied: 'Since the time when the affliction was removed from our people.' Then Yûnas asked for a sheep, and, after he had touched her nipples, milk commenced to flow from them in abundance. The shepherd said: 'If Yûnas were alive, I would say that thou art he.' His lordship continued: 'Go and inform the people of my arrival.' The shepherd replied: 'The king has declared that he would abdicate royalty in any man's favour who may bring the news of the safety and the coming of Yûnas, and that he would gird the loins of service to his lordship. Now, if I bring this information without any guarantee [for its truth], the people will say that a shepherd covets the royal dignity, and they will kill me.' Yûnas said: 'In case of necessity, the sheep which I have milked and this rock whereon I am sitting will bear testimony to the truth of thy words.' Then the shepherd went to the city to report his meeting and conversation with Yûnas; the people, however, accused him of falsehood, and determined to kill the unhappy shepherd. He replied: 'O people, come with me to the desert, for I have an evident argument in favour of my assertion.' He accordingly led the people to the spot where he had seen Yûnas, and produced the sheep, the rock being also a witness in his favour; but the sheep even spoke, saying: 'Yûnas drank of my milk.' The stone likewise confirmed the assertion of the shepherd [but it is not stated in what manner]. Therefore the people were astonished, and joyfully went in search of Yûnas, whom they discovered near the foot of a tree engaged in prayer. When the people met that exalted individual, they kissed his hands and feet, con-

ducted him respectfully and honourably to the city whereon, by his propitious advent, comfort and prosperity originated in that country. He taught the people the ordinances of the religion and the regulations of the Law, and besought the Lord of Magnificence to allow him to travel After obtaining permission, he departed. The king likewise abdicated his royal dignity in favour of the above-mentioned shepherd, and went away with Yûnas.

Ka'b-ullâkhbâr relates that Yûnas—u. w b, etc—commingled, towards the end of his life, with the inhabitants of the world, but also became the companion of hermits and monks Before he departed this life he sent the prophet Sha'ia [Isaiah] who was his disciple, to the children of Esrâil In the *Ma'aruf*, however, the account of Sha'ia precedes that of Yûnas, but God knows best.

RECORD OF THE ENEMIES ATTACKING THE CHILDREN OF ESRÂIL, AND THE LATTER OVERCOMING THE FORMER. ACCOUNT OF THEIR COMMITTING SIN AFTER THEIR VICTORY, AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE HOLY HOUSE.

Allah—w. u. b e—has said 'And we expressly declared unto the children of Esrâil in the book [of the Law, saying], Ye will surely commit evil in the earth twice, and ye will be elated with great insolence. And when the [punishment] threatened for the first of those [transgressions] came [to be executed] we sent against you our servants endued with exceeding strength [in war]' (to the end of the verse)[125] When the kingdom of Sulimân lapsed to one of his descendants of the name of Sadiqa [Hezekiah], who had an infirmity in his foot, the adjoining kings coveted his realm on account of this infirmity. The first who attacked him was the King of Jazirah [Mesopotamia], Lankan by name, who adored Venus, and therefore made a vow to offer her his own son as a sacrifice in case he should become Master of the Holy House. According to another tradition, Bakhtanassar was the secretary of this king, and when

[125] Qurân, ch xvii. 4, 5.

Lankan had encamped in the vicinity of the Holy House [Jerusalem] with an army numerous as locusts, the Lord and Ruler of winds sent a hurricane which destroyed the whole army, so that no one escaped but Lankan and Bakhtanassar, who returned to the country of Jazirah disappointed and sad. The son of the king having heard of his father's vow, made use of the opportunity and killed him, Bakhtanassar, however, in his turn deprived the prince of life, and took possession of the kingdom without opposition After this event the King of Mousul and the Governor of Adharbaijân [Media] marched with their armies to the Holy House without each other's knowledge. There, however, they met, a sanguinary battle ensued, and the True Sovereign conveyed the pretenders and the foes of the religion, without any efforts of His friends, to the regions of annihilation, whereon the children of Esrâil took possession of all their baggage and property.

After the Jews had committed sin and had become rebellious by slaying the prophets, Sanjârib [Sennacherib], the King of Babel, marched with a numerous army to the Holy House, occupied that pleasant country, and committed great depredations therein.[126] When Sanjârib returned to his country, the children of Esrâil assembled, but again pursued their criminal and wicked inclinations, consequently the Lord of Magnificence exalted Armia [Jeremiah] to the prophetic dignity, and appointed him to direct and to guide them,[127] that flagitious nation, however, insulted, beat and imprisoned the prophet of God,[128] therefore the Lord and Mighty Avenger subjected the children of Esrâil to Bakhtanassar,[129] who put them to the merciless sword, burnt the Holy House, took the wazirs of the Jews captive, and sent them to Babel [Babylon]. Such is the tradition of Qotaiba, and of other

[126] 2 Kings, ch. xviii. 13. 'Now in the fourteenth year of the king Hezekiah did Sennacherib King of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah'

[127] Jeremiah, ch vii 2 'Stand in the gate of the Lord's house and proclaim there this word,' etc.

[128] Jeremiah, ch xxxii. 2.

[129] *Ibid*, ch. xxxix

historians, but what follows after the above events will—if it pleaseth Allah—be narrated in the proper place.

Khodaifa narrates a tradition of the prophet—u. w. b., etc.—which is as follows: 'When the children of Esrâil sinned, and killed the prophets, God—w. n. b. e.—sent Bakhtanassar against them, who besieged and took the Holy House. He slew seventy thousand individuals [to atone] for the blood of Zakria the prophet, and carried off seventy thousand donkey-loads of ornaments and decorations from the Holy House; but some assert that he had taken one hundred thousand such loads to Babel.' Khodaifa says: 'I asked, Was the decoration of the Holy House considerable?' He replied: 'Yes; Sulimân had built that city of gold and rubies, ingots of which he demanded from the Satans, who produced them instantly by his orders. Bakhtanassar carried off the children of Esrâil, who remained prisoners during one hundred years. After that a king of the name of Korush sent the children of Esrâil back with their ornaments,[130] the city was again populated, and the children of Esrâil returned to obedience [to God] for one hundred years. Then, however, they again commenced to sin, and God—w. n. b. e.—appointed the King of Rûm to reign over them, who carried away the ornaments of the Holy House to his country.' It is also related of that prince—*i.e*, Muhammad—that he said: 'When the Mahdi[131] arrives at the end of all time, he will send back the ornaments of the Holy House to their original place.' But Allah is most wise!

The tradition of Muhammad Bin Esahâq, the author of the *Maghâzi* is, that God—w. n. b. e.—had sent a revelation to Musâ, the son of E'mrân, that the children of Esrâil will rebel twice on earth. After the expiration of a long period of time, the Jews sinned against the laws of

[130] Ezra, ch. i. 7: 'Also Cyrus the king brought forth the vessels,' etc.

[131] Moslems believe in the advent of the Mahdi, Christians in the second coming of Christ, and the Zoroastrians likewise expect a prophet to arrive when the resurrection draws near; his name is Sabioth (*Bundehesh*, ch. xxxi.)

their religion; and in that age there was an ordinance of God, in consequence whereof He sent a prophet during the reign of every king, for the purpose of teaching and directing him, and of holding up to him his good and evil deeds. When the royal dignity devolved upon Sadiqa [Hezekiah], who was a pious, devout, and righteous prince, Sha'ia Bin Mûsa [Isaiah] was sent, who prophesied the advent of I'sa [Jesus] and of Muhammad—u. w. b., etc.—it being related that he had prophesied: 'Be of good cheer! The rider on an ass, namely, I'sa, and the rider on a camel, namely, the apostle of Allah—u. w. b., etc.—will come to thee'[182]

In short, during the reign of Sadiqa [Hezekiah] the rebellion and disobedience of the children of Esrâil transgressed all bounds, and though the prophet and the king admonished the people, it was of no use. Meanwhile Sanjârib [Sennacherib], the King of Babel, marched with six hundred thousand warriors to attack the Holy House, and arrived in the vicinity thereof after performing the journey. On that occasion Sadiqa was suffering from a bad foot, and was overwhelmed by fear when Sha'ia informed him of the approach of the enemy, but asked 'O prophet of God, has no information from heaven been communicated to thee on this subject?' Sha'ia replied: 'No!' Afterwards, however, the divine inspiration reached Sha'ia to tell Sadiqa to make his last will and testament,[183] and to appoint one of his family to succeed him as king Therefore Sadiqa immediately prepared himself to obey, engaged in prayer, supplication, and weeping, and besought the Lord of lords to save the children of Esrâil from the grasp of their enemies. His prayer was answered, and Sha'ia obtained the revelation to inform him to that effect, as well as that God had not only granted him victory over his enemies, but had also increased the duration of his life

[182] The Vulgate (Isaias, ch. xxi. 7) has: 'Vidit currum duorum equitum, ascensorem asini, et ascensorem cameli,' etc.

[183] Isaiah, ch. xxxviii. 1: 'Set thine house in order, for thou shalt die, and not live.'

by fifteen years,[134] and that by applying a certain remedy[135] he would also be relieved of his malady. Sha'ia reported this information to the king, for which he felt very grateful; he then offered his thanksgivings, laid the prescribed remedy on the affected spot, and was delivered of his complaint. When Sadiqa and his people rose the next morning from their beds, and looked for the enemies, they found that all had died, except Sanjârib and five other individuals of his followers.

Muhammad Bin Esahaq relates that, according to some traditions, Sadiqa fought with Sanjârib, put his army to flight, and made him prisoner, with five other men, one of whom was Bakhtanassar. Then Sadiqa ordered the King of Babel to be yoked together with these five men, and to be driven daily round the city, everyone being fed with two loaves of oat-bread day by day. After seventy days had thus elapsed, the King of Babel sent the following message to Sadiqa. 'It would be better to kill us, than to make us live in this manner.' Therefore Sadiqa issued orders for their execution, but was checked by the command of the Lord, communicated to him by Sha'ia, that he ought not to kill Sanjârib, but rather to show him kindness and civility, and to send him back to the country of Babel for the purpose of informing others of God's wrath and anger. Sadiqa obeyed, treated Sanjârib honourably and respectfully, allowing him to return to his country, which he did; but being prostrated on the couch of weakness after the expiration of seven years, he appointed Bakhtanassar to be his successor. After the [above-mentioned] promised fifteen years had elapsed, Sadiqa took leave of this perishable world, and departed to the abode of eternity. After his decease the children of Esrâil began to quarrel with each other, fought, and reduced the country to a state of anarchy; they not only disregarded the admonitions of Sha'ia, but intended to slay him, therefore he fled, and perceived on his way a tree split lengthwise, which exclaimed to him: 'O prophet of God, come to me.'

[134] Isaiah, ch. xxxviii. 5. [135] *Ibid*, 21.

She complied, and took shelter within its cavity. Satan, however, pulled him by the skirt of his garment, so that it remained outside, whereon the rebellious people arrived and sawed him into two parts with the tree; the current opinion, however, is that the prophet thus cut in twain was Zakria, as will—if it pleaseth Allah—be explained by-and-by.

RECORD OF BAKHTANASSAR'S ARRIVAL AT THE HOLY HOUSE, WHICH HE DESTROYS, KILLING AND PLUNDERING THE CHILDREN OF ESRÂIL.

The principal historians are at variance as regards the second rebellion of the children of Esrâil. Some allege that they perpetrated this transgression by accusing Armia [Jeremiah] of falsehood, whilst others affirm that they became subject thereto by killing Yahia, the son of Zakria. By divine grace we shall rehearse both these opinions.

The first is, that among the children of Esrâil there was an individual, strengthened and supported by the power of God, whose name was Dâniâl the Greater. When this man was reading the Mosaic Law, he happened to discover a verse intimating that after a short while a person would come and overthrow the Holy House. Dâniâl then became melancholy, and prayed as follows: 'O Lord! who is the man that will ruin the Holy House, and disperse the children of Esrâil?' He was afterwards informed in a dream, that the destroyer of the Holy House is a single pearl in the sea of Babel, Bakhtanassar by name. When Dâniâl awoke, he collected his baggage and travelled to Babel, where he arrived after traversing the distance. Sanjârib, who governed and reigned in the country, asked Dâniâl for the reason of his coming to it. He replied: 'I wish to distribute my property among the widows and orphans of this land.' This the king permitted, and Dâniâl occupied himself for a long time in looking for fatherless children, neither hearing nor seeing anything of Bakhtanassar. One day the slave of Dâniâl went on an errand, and happened to discover a boy lying on a dunghill. He accosted him, and

obtained the following reply: 'I am an orphan, and have ere this collected wood for my own and my mother's support, but now I have fallen into the state in which thou beholdest me.' He then asked for the boy's name, who replied: 'Bakhtanassar!' The slave immediately returned and gave this information to his master, who then himself went to see the boy. Dâniâl ordered the servant to wash him and to bring him to the house; he afterwards became also the possessor of the boy's mother, and took care of them both. After Bakhtanassar had recovered his health, Dâniâl said one day to him: 'What wilt thou give me in return for the care which I have bestowed upon thee?' Bakhtanassar replied: 'How could one who possesses nothing requite thee?' Dâniâl continued: 'I think thou wilt in course of time attain royal dignity, and wilt march with an army against the children of Esrâil. I request thee now to write a letter of protection for me and for the inhabitants of my house.' Bakhtanassar rejoined: 'Thou art pleased to joke with me.' Dâniâl exclaimed: 'No, by God!' After many expostulations Dâniâl at last said: 'If thou wilt comply with my request, I shall give thee twenty thousand dirhems' Bakhtanassar, however, always considered this proposal to be merely jocular, but finally consented, by the advice of his mother, to write a letter of protection, for which he actually received the just-mentioned large sum of money.

It is related that before Bakhtanassar had been attacked by his malady, he went with other children to the plain to gather wood, they appointed him to be their Amir, or leader, and obeyed his behests. When he received the said twenty thousand dirhems from Dâniâl, he distributed them to his former playmates, purchased outfits for them, and began with this crowd of blooming youths to obtain access to the palace of the king. Bakhtanassar was an elegant penman, a descendant of a noble family, but had been degraded by the adversities of fortune. The king, Sanjârib, discovered the prognostics of success on his forehead, and gradually promoted him, till he attained the dignity of a governor.

Bakhtanassar was successful and victorious in all his undertakings, but when he accompanied Sanjârib in his expedition to the Holy House, they were both made captives, and on their return he was, as before, in the service of the king, after whose decease he ascended the throne. At that time Nushia, the son of Amos, was king of the children of Esrâil, and Armia their prophet; but the Jews were wicked, flagitious, rebellious, and obdurate, never taking nor listening to the advice of Armia. The rumour of the disobedience and rebellion of the children of Esrâil reached the ears of Bakhtanassar, wherefore he engaged in warlike operations, and collected the stores and ammunitions necessary for a campaign to the Holy House. About that time Armia mounted a rock near the city, tore his robes, threw dust and ashes over his head, and turned towards the people, saying: 'God—w. n. b. e.—addresses you thus: Cease your disobedience, or else I shall appoint a tribe of fire-worshippers over you, who fear neither My punishments nor My rewards; they will exterminate you, and ruin the Holy House.' The Jews replied: 'Thou attributest falsehoods to the God of the inhabitants of the world, because the adorable Lord will never destroy His own mosque, and the righteous Judge will never appoint enemies over His friends.' Despite of Armia's admonitions, they paid no attention to them, but rather imprisoned him. About that time Bakhtanassar encamped with his army around the city, the siege whereof lasted for a long time, until wicked men submitted to his rule and surrendered the keys of the entrances, whereon the bloody sword of Bakhtanassar did its work, and only the sick and the weak found mercy. He inquired for Dâniâl the Greater, but was informed that his lordship had departed to the eternal world. Dâniâl Bin Hazqil, however, who was his successor in wisdom, was brought to his presence, with his family, and with Bakhtanassar's letter of protection; and as he kept his promise, they were spared his valour and cruelty. He not only razed and burnt the Holy House, but destroyed also the [books of the] Mosaic Law. The effects of his wrath

became visible in the whole of Syria; he made seventy thousand captives of the high and the low from among the children of Esrâil, whom he carried off with an amount of wealth, to calculate which eludes the imaginations of accountants, and marched to the capital of his dominions.

After Bakhtanassar had ceased his slaughter and plunder, it was reported to him that before his arrival a prophet of the children of Esrâil had predicted all that would happen, but that those ill-fated wretches had imprisoned him in such and such a place. Bakhtanassar then ordered him to be produced, and asked him: 'Whence knewest thou what would happen?' Armia replied: 'The Lord, who knows the secrets of futurity, had ordered me to admonish and to warn the people, and had informed me of all that would happen.' Bakhtanassar said: 'What bad people they must be who have accused their prophet of falsehood, and who have imprisoned him. If thou wilt remain with me, thou wilt meet only with respect and kindness; but if thou preferrest to dwell in thy own country in peace and tranquillity, thou mayest do so.' Armia replied: 'I am at all times under the protection of God, and the children of Esrâil would likewise have remained under it had they listened to my words; nor would evil have reached them from thy or from any other part.' Bakhtanassar then dismissed Armia and marched to Babel, but took with him Dâniâl, the son of Hazqil, with the family of Dâniâl the Greater, to whom he showed much kindness. Some have said that A'zira, the son of Sarhia, also was of the family of Dâniâl the Greater. It is reported on good authority that he was among the number of captives, and was at last exalted to the dignity of a prophet; but God knows best!

Armia remained in the Holy House, and constantly uttered lamentations for its desolation; and herein the swallows kept him company, wherefore people assert that it is illicit to kill them. When those who had escaped the sword became aware of the circumstances of Armia, they crept out from their hiding-places, gathered around him,

and said: 'It is proper that we should go to Egypt and live there under the shadow of the governor's protection.' All agreed to this proposal, whereon Armia departed with them to Egypt.[128] Some assert that Bakhtanassar was still in Syria when Armia started with the remnant of the children of Esrâil to Egypt. When Bakhtanassar had obtained information on this point, he sent a letter to the King of Egypt to the following purport: 'Numbers of my subjects have fled to thy country; therefore send them back. Shouldst thou, however, refuse to do so, the same will happen to Egypt what happened to the Holy House.' This message was, however, replied to by the King of Egypt as follows: 'These people are free and noble. It would be against the laws of humanity to surrender them to thee.' On this occasion, also, Armia said to his people, exhorting them: 'Repent of your sins and crimes, and crave pardon, else Bakhtanassar will pursue you even to this country, and his cruelty will overtake you as it has overtaken your countrymen.' The children of Esrâil replied: 'What words are these, and how could Bakhtanassar vanquish the king?' The people continued in their rebellion, and Armia went with some of them to the banks of the Nile, where he placed four stones near each other, and concealed them, saying: 'When Bakhtanassar conquers the country, he will erect his throne in this locality, so that its four supports will rest upon these four stones.'

When Bakhtanassar had received the answer of the Governor of Egypt, he marched to that country, subdued his opponents, made the children of Esrâil prisoners, and discovered Armia among them. He reproached him in these words: 'Have I not dealt with thee kindly, and exempted thee of what befell thy people?' Armia replied: 'Yes.' Bakhtanassar continued: 'Then why hast thou associated thyself to my enemies?' Armia rejoined: 'I have admonished them, and told them that thou wouldst conquer this country, and in confirmation of the truth of

[128] Jeremiah, ch. xliii. 7: 'So they came into the land of Egypt: for they obeyed not the voice of the Lord.'

my words I have buried stones in this place, and have informed the children of Esrâil that the four legs of thy throne would stand upon these stones.' Bakhtanassar was astonished at these words, but finding the statement of Armia to be true, he liberated his lordship, and allowed him to go where he pleased.

When Bakhtanassar returned from Egypt and Syria to Babel, his kindness towards Dâniâl, the son of Hazqil, and towards the family of Dâniâl the Greater, increased, so that the Magi[137] envied Dâniâl, and said to the king: 'Thou cherishest an individual who opposes thy religion and eats not thy food.' Therefore Bakhtanassar invited Dâniâl to a repast, and learnt that the Magi and the chiefs of the kingdom had been right in their assertion. He then became angry, and imprisoned Dâniâl, who remained in confinement until Bakhtanassar dreamt a fearful dream, in consequence of which he assembled his soothsayers, interpreters, and confidants, and said to them: 'I have had a terrible dream, you must interpret it.' They replied 'If your majesty will relate it: we shall explain it.'[138] Bakhtanassar said: 'I was so frightened that I have forgotten the contents of the dream.' They continued: 'How can we interpret an account which thou art unable to relate?' At these words Bakhtanassar became incensed with wrath, and exclaimed: 'I have for a long time kept you in my service that you may always be ready to solve similar questions and difficulties without delay. Now, I shall grant you a respite of three years. If you comply with my wishes after the expiration of that period of time, all will be well, but if not, I shall kill you all.'[139] This declaration became known in the city and also to Dâniâl, who requested the gaoler to convey the information to the king that he would interpret the dream. The gaoler, however, replied. 'Do not attempt it, for I apprehend

[137] The word used in the text is *Majûs*, *i.e.*, Magus, which our author uses promiscuously with 'fire-worshippers.'

[138] Daniel, ch. ii. 4: 'Tell thy servants the dream, and we will show the interpretation.'

[139] Daniel, ch. ii. 5: 'Ye shall be cut in pieces.'

Bakhtanassar will injure thee.' Dânîâl, however, expostulated until he consented and reported the matter to the proper authorities. Then Bakhtanassar called for Dânîâl and asked him to interpret the dream. The latter, therefore, spoke as follows: 'Thou hast in thy dream beheld a statue standing erect on the ground. Its head was of gold, its neck of silver, its trunk of brass, its legs of iron, and its feet of baked clay. When thou wast looking at it, a stone fell from heaven and broke it to pieces,[140] whereas thy belief was that *if all men and genii were to assemble they could* not separate the limbs of that statue from each other. Then a wind commenced to blow, which dispersed every atom of the statue; whilst the stone [that had fallen from heaven] so increased in bulk that it filled the whole surface of the earth, so that thou wast unable to see anything besides that stone and the firmament.' Bakhtanassar replied: 'Such was my dream, and nothing less nor more; therefore explain it!' Dânîâl continued: 'The statue represents the present times and the realms. The golden head represents your majesty, the neck your son, and the trunk is a similitude of other kingdoms. Iron is a metaphor of the empire of the Persians, the solidity of the palace of whose prosperity will be strengthened in their average condition; the baked clay, however, implies that in later times their dominion will become weak. The stone that fell from heaven and destroyed the statue indicates a prophet who will be sent in later times, will vanquish kings, will abolish all other religions, and whose law will subsist till the day of the resurrection.'[141] Bakhtanassar replied: 'O Dânîâl, I know no one who has more highly obliged me than thou hast done by the interpretation of this dream. It is my wish to reward thee, therefore select any of the three following things: (1) Either return to thy country, and rebuild any ruined places according to thy pleasure; or (2) I shall issue letters patent to thee and to thy companions, that

[140] Daniel, ch. ii. 31-34.

[141] This prophecy is also mentioned in a Zoroastrian work called *Sharestán*, where the said stone is interpreted to mean a prophet (Jesus?) whose religion will fill the whole earth. Muhammadans of course say that the prophet is Muhammad.

wherever you choose to settle in my dominions you shall be respected and honoured; or (3) if thou shouldst feel inclined to remain with me, I shall do to thee all the good in my power.' Dâniâl replied: 'The will of God the most High and Magnificent was that our country be destroyed; nor is anyone able to contravene this decree by attempting to rebuild anything therein. I need not thy letters patent, for in whatever place I may be I am under the protection of my Omnipotent Nourisher. The thing, however, which will suit my circumstances and those of my countrymen best, is to remain near to the station of thy magnificence.' After Dâniâl had thus expressed his wish to dwell in the vicinity of the king, Bakhtanassar assembled his children, the principal office-bearers, grandees, and nobles of the kingdom, and said: 'Dâniâl is a wise, intelligent, and prudent man, by means of whose explanation God—w. n. b. e—has delivered me from the apprehensions under which I was on account of the horrible dream I had. Therefore I appoint him to regulate the affairs of the state, of the army, and of my subjects, in such a manner that, in case we should differ on any subject, my orders are to be considered as non-existent and his injunctions are to be followed.' After Dâniâl had thus attained the highest degree of power, dignity, and glory, the ovens of the minds of the Babylonian grandees again commenced to blaze with the flames of envy. A number of confidants and officials therefore spoke to the king as follows: 'Formerly no one was dearer to thee than ourselves, our enemies dared not to move even their feet beyond the prescribed limits, for fear of being chastised by us. Now, however, as thou hast appointed this Esrâilite slave over all general and special matters [of the administration], we have lapsed into a base position, the affairs of the realm are in great danger, the surrounding kings covet thy dominions, and have tried to bribe us with promises. All this has happened on account of the weakness of thy understanding, thy imperfect intellect, and thy misgovernment.' Bakhtanassar replied: 'Such a calamity has not befallen my intellect and judg-

ment as you allege. But I have found Dâniâl to be a wise and skilful man, who has delivered me from an affliction, wherein you have failed, despite of all your acuteness and intelligence. I have placed the reins of the government into his hands for the benefit of the high and low, and for the good of the commonwealth.' The grandees, however, repeated their insinuations, and continued: 'This Esrâilite pretends to have a God who is aware of hidden things and concealed mysteries.' Bakhtanassar replied: 'Yes, such is his opinion!' They said: 'If thou wilt allow, we shall make a god for thee, superior to his, who will inform thee about all things, and aid thee in all matters.' Bakhtanassar rejoined: 'If you really can accomplish what you pretend, I have no objection.' Therefore those fools assembled workmen to construct a broad and high idol of various metals, and placed a golden diadem encrusted with precious stones on its head. They also lit a great fire, and compelled the people to adore the idol,[142] and whoever refused to do so was thrown into the flames, so that on the said occasion many of the children of Esrâil, who were prisoners in that country, perished. A certain day was appointed for a festival to bring offerings and make sacrifices, and, according to a tradition, Dâniâl. the son of Hazqil, was, with three other men of the family of Dâniâl the Greater, on that occasion thrown into the fire without the knowledge of Bakhtanassar. When the latter, however, looked from the terrace of his residence towards the said fire, he caught sight of five persons sitting in that dreadful place, but one of them had wings like a bird, wherewith he was fanning his companions. At the sight of this portentous spectacle the king was completely overpowered by fear, and shouted to the men to come out from the fire, whereon the four men issued from it unscathed, and presented themselves to Bakhtanassar, who asked them about the person who had fanned them when they were in the fire. Dâniâl replied: 'He was an angel sent by the Omnipotent Nourisher for the purpose of guarding

[142] Daniel, ch. iii.

His servants from being injured by the fire.' Bakhtanassar then reproved them, and asked: 'Why have you not informed me of this matter? I might have prevented the people from dealing with you in this opprobrious fashion.' They replied: '[We forebore to do so] that thy people may become aware of the omnipotence of God—w. n. b. e.—who is the Creator of the world, and who watches over His friends.' Bakhtanassar having been warned by this event, augmented his civility and kindness towards those men.

It is related that afterwards Bakhtanassar again had a terrible dream, and that on awakening from sleep he convoked all who pretended to be soothsayers and interpreters, and that he said to them: 'I have had a frightful dream, but I forget it. I want you to explain it.' The interpreters replied: 'Thou associatest with the chief of sorcerers; thou allowest him to sleep near thee, and when thy sensitive organs are in a state of lethargy, he causes thee to see terrible visions and frightens thee, and for their interpretation thou rewardest him with distinctions and favours. This assertion of ours is confirmed by the fact of thy never having had any visions like these before thy intimacy with Dâniâl.' Bakhtanassar answered: 'Have you no other reply to my words than this?' They said: 'No.' Bakhtanassar then became angry with them, dismissed them from the assembly, and called for Dâniâl, whom he informed about his dream and the forgetting of it, and requested him to interpret it. Dâniâl asked for a little respite, retired to a private apartment, prostrated himself on his knees, and craved for a revelation of the knowledge of the dream, with the interpretation thereof. After the Eternal Lord, who never speaks, had inspired him with the necessary information, he hastened back to the presence of Bakhtanassar and said: 'The Creator of the world has deigned to reveal thy dream, which is as follows: When thou wast asleep thou hast seen a great tree, which had stretched its top towards the sky; birds perched thereon, whilst wild beasts and rapacious animals reposed in the

shade thereof. When thou wast contemplating that tree, thou wast astonished at its beauty, and at the assembly of birds and animals. Then an angel came with an axe in his hand, intending to fell the tree; suddenly, however, another cherub exclaimed: "It is the will of the Almighty Nourisher, that thou shouldst not altogether demolish this verdure by the roots, but that thou lop off some of it, and leave some of it." Thou hast perceived that when the angel was cutting off some of the branches of that tree, the animals and birds dispersed, the trunk of the tree remained, and a complete change hath taken place in its beauty and its freshness.' Bakhtanassar said: 'Thou hast correctly explained the vision. Inform me now of the interpretation thereof.' Dâniâl replied: 'Thou art the tree, the birds are thy family, children, army, and adherents. The animals and wild beasts that reposed in the shade of that tree are thy subjects who live under the shadow [*i.e.*, protection] of thy government. Thou hast incurred the divine wrath, for having permitted the grandees of thy kingdom to erect an idol. Therefore God—w. n. b. e.—has commanded an angel to destroy thee, and so respite some of thy progeny for a season.' Bakhtanassar asked: 'What will the Lord Almighty do to me?' Dâniâl rejoined: 'That thou mayest obtain an idea of the perfection of divine omnipotence, thou wilt, by the command of the Almighty Inscrutable One, during seven years be transformed into the figures of all sorts of creatures for a warning; and after the expiration of that time thou wilt again assume the human form.'[143] Bakhtanassar asked: 'Would repentance or eleemosynary works be of use in this case?' Dâniâl said: 'No! Because the eternal decree of predestination has gone forth!' After hearing these words, Bakhtanassar abdicated the royal dignity in favour of his son, retired from power, wept and moaned in the corner of exclusion. After a week had elapsed in this manner, he ascended to the roof of the house to enjoy the

[143] Daniel, ch. IV. 25: 'Thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field,' etc.

breeze, whereon, by the power of God, suddenly wings and a beak, as well as claws, began to grow on his body. Having thus been transmuted into an eagle, he attacked and vanquished all the birds, whereon the news spread in the country that such a beast had been created. Bakhtanassar was then gradually changed into the forms of various birds and animals during a period of seven years. Let it not remain concealed that, although this event may appear incomprehensible to the human understanding, it is not impossible to divine omnipotence.

During the just-mentioned time, Dâniâl acted as the viceroy of Bakhtanassar's son, governed the subjects and the army of the realm, and restrained them from committing illicit acts. He also informed them of Bakhtanassar's speedy return, and of his again shedding the rays of his vision upon the administration of their affairs.

Wuhub Bin Muniah relates that Bakhtanassar at last returned to his house in the form of a gnat. When the Omnipotent Inscrutable One again transmuted him to his first form, he washed himself, and issued from his private apartments with a drawn sword, assembled the office-bearers, grandees, chiefs, subjects, and servants of the kingdom, and addressed them as follows: 'Ere this we have worshipped an inanimate mass, unable to help or to injure us. Now I trust in divine omnipotence, and believe in the God of the children of Esrâil. Whoever of this people will follow my example in this matter will be my friend, or else I shall punish him with the sword I give you one day and night to consider, that you and your friends may come to me with sincerity as believers and, monotheists.' After these words he returned to his private apartments, and during the same night surrendered his life to the grasper of souls. As, however, the biography of Bakhtanassar is not related in the principal historical works with these details and wonderful events, the tongue of the writing-reed was under no apprehension of [being accused of] prolixity.

It is also related by Wuhub Bin Muniah that, when the

son of Bakhtanassar ascended the throne after the demise of his father, he considered rebellion and arrogance to be his duties. He began to cook pork in, and to drink wine from, the vessels of the Holy House, which the Satans had built by order of the prophet Sulimân (u. w. b., etc.). He not only refused to be warned by Dâniâl, but expelled him from his society. His mother said: 'Thy father was wiser than thou; he, nevertheless, consulted Dâniâl in all matters, and I think it would be proper for thee to do so likewise, and to profit by his foresighted sagacity.' The son replied: 'Leave off these words, for I hate no man on the face of the earth more than him.' About this time the son of Bakhtanassar was, on a festive occasion, sitting in a banquet with the grandees of his realm, when all of a sudden a hand made its appearance,[144] and immediately disappeared again, but on that hand three words were written. No one present knew what the writing meant, therefore the son of Bakhtanassar and his grandees were under great fear and apprehension, and some of the latter said to him: 'If thou wishest to be relieved of thy pain and grief, call for Dâniâl, implore his pardon, and propose this question to his penetrating mind that we may see what he will reveal.' The prince approved of the opinion of his ministers, and, after conciliating Dâniâl, proffered his request for the solution of that important difficulty. Dâniâl replied: On that hand the following three words [or, rather, sentences] were written: *Wazana fakhaffa; wa wa'da fanjaza; wa jama' fafarraqa* [He weighed and found it light; He promised and fulfilled it, He collected and dispersed].' The son of Bakhtanassar having asked for the meaning of these words, Dâniâl replied: 'Their signification is, that God—w. n. b. e.—has weighed thy works, and found them light; He has promised to give thee dominion, and fulfilled His promise; He has collected, the cause of thy pomp and greatness, and He has scattered them.'[145] The king again queried: 'When will this disper-

[144] Daniel, ch. v. 5.
[145] Daniel, ch. v. 25-28. See also *Journ. Asiatique*, 1886, t. viii., pp. 36-68.

sion take place?' Dâniâl said: 'After three days more thou wilt be killed, and thy dominion will be transferred to another.' When the son of Bakhtanassar heard these words, he retired to his palace, and ordered one of his most confidential servants to cut off any person's head attempting to enter. During the fourth night after the prediction of Dâniâl, the son of Bakhtanassar came out from the palace, and the watchman, who had awoke from sleep, attacked him with a sword. He shouted. 'I am thy benefactor and king!' The watchman, however, replied: 'Thou art a liar!' and despatched him, after repeatedly striking and wounding him, to the city of non-existence—or, rather, to the abyss of hell. After the murder of Bakhtanassar's son, another individual took the bride of dominion into his arms, consulted wise men concerning the captivity of the children of Esrâil, and received the following answer: 'The afflictions that befell our country took place because we have injured and despised these people. Now, the best for thee will be to allow the children of Esrâil to depart to their country.' Therefore the king ordered the children of Esrâil to depart to their own land, under the guidance of Dâniâl, with all the ornaments and decorations which Bakhtanassar had conveyed from the Holy House to the capital of his kingdom. In the book entitled *Maghâzi* it is, however, related that when Abu Mûsa Asha'ri was, during the Khalifate of O'mar, the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b., etc.—appointed governor of the city of Sûs, he happened, during the opening of the doors of the treasuries which had belonged to the viceroy of that place, to reach a locked door, and he ordered it to be opened. The inhabitants of Sûs, however, said. 'There are no worldly goods in this apartment.' Abu Mûsa asked: 'Then what is in it?' They replied: 'Here is a thing which thou hast no need of.' Abu Mûsa would, however, not rest until they had opened the door, whereon he perceived a large sarcophagus of stone, containing the body of a tall and corpulent man, whose nose appeared to be one span long. Abu Mûsa inquired who this individual was,

and elicited the information that he was Dânial. After further questioning the people how he had come there, they replied: 'Once there was a great dearth in our country, and the king requested the sovereign of Babel to send Dânial, that by the blessing of his advent and the efficacy of his prayers the inhabitants might be delivered of the miseries of famine. The request of our king having been granted, Dânial arrived, and by his orisons he procured abundant showers of rain, plenty of provisions, and cheapness of food. Our king would not allow Dânial to leave this county, and when he died he was buried in this spot. Whenever we are afflicted by any calamity, we assemble in this place, and pray to the Lord and Granter of requests till he removes the evil from us.' Abu Mûsa reported this case to the Farûq aa'zim [*i e.*, to O'mar], and O'mar sent a message to Abu Mûsa to take the corpse of Dânial out of the house, to dress it in a new shroud, and to bury it in conformity with the ordinances of the religion, which was accordingly done.

Record of the Prophet O'zair [Ezra].

Several chroniclers have affirmed that O'zair was one of the children of the prophets. Before he had attained the age of maturity he was, together with his countrymen, made prisoner, and carried off to Babylon. At that time there was no one better acquainted with the Mosaic Law than he. When he had been freed from slavery to Bakhtanassar, and had returned to his country, he was, whilst yet young, one day riding on an ass to attend to some business. He happened to pass near a ruined village, and alighted in one of the gardens, took down some figs and grape-juice from his beast, tethered it to a tree, sat down leaning against the trunk, contemplated the prostrated roofs, decayed walls, rotten bones, and said to himself: 'How can God revive these bones [on the day of the resurrection] after thus allowing them to perish?' Allah hast said: 'Or [hast thou not considered] how he [behaved who] passed by a city which had been destroyed even to

her foundations? He said, How shall God quicken this [city] after she hath been dead? And God caused him to die for a hundred years, and afterwards raised him to life.'[146]

It is related that once upon a time, when the Emâm Mûsa Kazum—u. w. b., etc.[147]—was fleeing from his enemies and roaming about in disguise in the world, he happened to pass near a village in Syria where he perceived an extremely high mountain, towards the top of which a multitude of Christians were hastening. He asked them about the place, and where they meant to go; they replied: 'On this mountain is a convent; a monk comes out from it once every year, instructs us about what is lawful or prohibited, according to the religion of I'sa, and solves any difficulties we may propound.' The Emâm Mûsa accompanied them, and went up to the mountain When they had arrived at the gate an age-stricken old man made his appearance, and took his seat on an elevated place. As soon as the eye of the monk alighted on Mûsa Bin Ja'fer, he perceived a light shining from his noble head towards the sky, was amazed, and therefore asked: 'Art thou a friend or a stranger?' Mûsa replied: 'I am not one of you.' He continued: 'Perchance thou art of the people of Muhammad?' He said. 'Yes.' The monk inquired: 'Art thou one of their scholars, or of the ignorant?' Mûsa replied: 'I am not of the ignorant.' The monk said: 'Shall I ask thee, or thou me?' He answered: 'Do as thou listest.' The monk continued: 'I shall ask.' The Emâm said: 'Ask whatever thou likest.' The monk continued. 'We and you say that in paradise there is a tree called *Tûba*.[148] We say its root is in the abode of I'sa [Jesus], and you fancy it is in the place of Muhammad. At all events, in paradise there is no locality nor apartment in which there is not a branch of that tree. Tell me now what is the similitude of it in the world?' The Emâm

[146] Qurân, ch. ii 261.
[147] Born A H. 128 [A.D. 745-746].
[148] 'Tree of happiness.'

said: 'The similitude of it in the world is the sun, because as soon as it reaches the centre of the firmament, there is no spot to which its rays do not penetrate.' The monk replied: 'Thou hast spoken well, and strung well the pearl of signification.' Shouts of applause were then heard from all quarters, and the old man of the convent again asked: 'We and you agree that the inhabitants of paradise eat food, drink beverages, and that neither the former nor the latter decrease in quantity. Tell me, if thou knowest, what the similitude of this is in the world?' The Emâm said: 'The similitude of it in the world is the Book of God, the Most High and Magnificent; because no matter how much commentators and expounders dilate on its contents, and how much trouble they take to discriminate between the truths and subtleties thereof, they can never accomplish their purpose, and it remains as it was before.' The monk approved of this answer, and said: 'We and you say that the inhabitants of paradise consume food and drink, but that they discharge neither urine nor excrements; what is the similitude of this in the world?' The Emâm replied: 'The likeness of this is as of the embryo in the maternal womb, which partakes of the nourishment it receives from the mother, but has no evacuations.' The monk said: 'Thou hast given the right explanation. Tell me, now, whether the key to paradise is of gold or of silver?' The Emâm said: 'It is neither of the one nor the other, but it is the tongue of the believing servant turning about in the mouth, and saying, "There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His apostle."' The monk said: 'I shall now ask thee another question, which thou wilt be unable to answer.' Mûsa queried: 'Wilt thou make a profession of our religion if I give thee the proper solution?' He said: 'Yes.' After having agreed to this condition the monk asked: 'Tell me how it happened that of two brothers who were born in the same night, and were on the same day received into the propinquity of divine mercy, one was, on the day of their death, two hundred, and the other only one hundred years old?' The Emâm replied: 'Those two

brothers were O'zair and O'zar, the sons of Sharhia. They were twins from one womb, and after they had during fifty years lived together, O'zair went on an errand, took some figs, grapes, their juice, and milk, and reached a village in Syria which God had destroyed, with the inhabitants thereof. O'zair looked at the devastation, saying, "How will God quicken this city after she hath been dead?" After he had fallen asleep in the place, the Almighty took possession of his soul, concealed his body from men, and prohibited wild beasts from injuring it. The food and drink remained in their pristine state of freshness without undergoing any change; the beast, however, [which Ezra rode] perished. Several years after O'zair had fallen asleep, God the Most High and Glorious caused the said village to be repeopled by the efforts of a certain king, and resuscitated O'zair to life after the expiration of one hundred years. An angel then came and asked him: "How long hast thou tarried [here]?" He answered, "A day, or part of a day."[149] O'zair gave this undecided reply because he thought the sun had set, and therefore he said, "I tarried a day;" but when he perceived that the sun was still above the horizon, he said: "I tarried part of a day." The angel, however, said. "Nay, thou hast tarried [here] a hundred years. Now look at thy food and thy drink, they are not yet corrupted, and look on thine ass."[150] Then O'zair looked at the rotten bones of his donkey; he saw them uniting gradually, and becoming invested with tendons, veins, and flesh. After that the Absolute Sovereign clothed him with flesh. Allah—w. n b. e.—has said: "And look at the bones [of thine ass], how we raise them, and afterwards clothe them with flesh." And when [this] was shown unto him, he said; "I know that Allah is able to do all things."[151] Then O'zair mounted his quadruped and returned to his house. He lived fifty years more with his brother, and both died on the same day, although one of them was two hundred and the other one hundred years old.'

Distich: If thou remainest a hundred years or one day,
Thou must depart from this pleasant abode.

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[149] Quran, ch. ii., part of verse 261 [150] *Ibid.* [151] *Ibid.*

When Mûsa Bin Ja'fer had ended his conversation, the monk continued: 'Whatever thou hast said is right; I bear witness that there is one God, and that Muhammad is His apostle.' And all present on the said occasion likewise professed the faith in company with him

It is related that when his prophetic lordship, O'zair, was resuscitated from his sleep, and received new life, he wished to return, and went to his village, but no one of the inhabitants knew him. When he stepped into his own house he did not find it as it was before. He saw an old blind woman sitting at the door of it, and asked her: 'Is this the house of O'zair?' She said: 'Yes; but who art thou that askest about him? because many years have elapsed, and I do not hear my master's name mentioned by anyone.' He said: 'I am O'zair.' The servant woman replied: 'Praise be to God, it is a hundred years since O'zair has been lost, and no one knows anything about him.' But when she saw that his lordship persisted in his assertion, she continued: 'I am one of his maid-servants. He was a man whose prayers were responded to; and if thou art he, cause me to recover my sight.' O'zair then recited his orisons, placed his hands upon the eyes of the woman, and God the Most High and Glorious caused her to recover her sight. She looked into the face of O'zair, and said: 'I bear testimony that thou art O'zair, because there is no difference in thy features from the time of thy disappearance to this day.' As has been stated above, according to the narrative of the Emâm Mûsa Kâzum, O'zair was fifty years old when he died the first time, but only thirty or forty according to other opinions. At any rate, all agree that on his august person no signs of old age appeared, after his life had been renewed. He had a son who was one hundred and ten years old, and even his grandsons were aged and pure. The above-mentioned servant-woman went into the assembly of the children of Esrâil, and informed the descendants of O'zair, who were in that congregation, of what had taken place, but they accused her of falsehood. Then she said: 'I am your blind maid-servant, who has obtained

her eyesight from the Omnipotent Lord in consequence of the prayers of O'zair.' Accordingly the sons and the people left the assembly and waited upon O'zair, whose son said: 'Between the two shoulders of my father there was a mole like a crescent.' O'zair bared his back and showed it to him, which satisfied the son, but not the people, wherefore they said; 'After Harûn no one knew the Mosaic Law better than O'zair, and it has been lost in the time of Bakhtanassar. If thy pretensions be true, recite it.' He complied, and the people wrote down the whole Law from his dictation; and when a copy thereof, which had been kept secret from the enemies by some grandees of the children of Esrâil, was brought and collated with it, both were found to agree, and not to differ even in a single letter. The people, however, fell into aberration, and said: 'O'zair is the son of God.' Allah—w. n. b. e.—has said: 'What the transgressors say in the height of their arrogance.' The most magnificent of speakers also said: 'The Jews say O'zair is the son of God; and the Christians say the Messiah is the Son of God'[152]

It is said that the first man who spoke on fate and predestination was O'zair, because he asked his Omnipotent Nourisher: 'O Lord, I am astonished at Thy appointing idolaters over Thy faithful servants, and over the children of Thy prophets, so that they slew or made them captives, destroyed Thy mosque, and tore Thy book.' Then the allocution came: 'O O'zair, those who knew Me have transgressed. Therefore I have appointed a company over them which had no knowledge of Me.' O'zair said: 'O Lord, if it had not been Thy will they would not have disobeyed' Then the revelation came 'O O'zair, the decrees of fate are one of My mysteries, and woe be to him who prys into My secrets.' Therefore O'zair desisted for a time from his inquiries, but soon again continued them, whereon the following allocution reached him: 'O O'zair, the children of Esrâil deemed things prohibited by Me to be licit, and killed My prophets, therefore I have subjected the people

[152] Qurân, ch. ix. 30.

who coveted not My rewards, and feared not My chastisements. This was more effective than to appoint My friends over them.' O'zair said: 'O Lord, Thou art a righteous judge; what was the reason of punishing many for the crimes of few, and the innocent with the guilty?' The reply then arrived: 'Go to yonder desert, and thou wilt hear the answer.' O'zair obeyed, and an angel appeared to him, who asked: 'Canst thou recall the day which has elapsed?' He said: 'No.' He continued: 'Canst thou fill one bushel with light?' He rejoined: 'No.' The angel asked: 'Art thou able to take up one misqâl's weight of wind?' O'zair replied: 'This is impossible.' The angel said: 'As thou art unable to do these things, thou art likewise unable to fathom the mysteries of God.' After O'zair had reiterated his questions about fate and predestination, he was commanded by the Almighty—w. n. b. pr.—to go to another place. He obeyed, but the heat of the atmosphere so affected him that he became very restless. On that occasion his eye alighted on a tree in the desert, near which he perceived a fountain of delicious water. O'zair bathed therein, and fell asleep in the shadow of the tree. On that spot there was a hill of ants, one of which so bit him that he leapt up, and in his wrath put fire to the ant-hill, destroying them all. On this occasion, however, a voice from above addressed him thus: 'O O'zair, why hast thou killed these ants?' He replied: 'One of them had stung me.' Then the Absolute Sage replied: 'If one of them has injured thee, why hast thou destroyed them all?' O'zair remained mute, and understood that these words were meant as a reproof to him; therefore he repented, and craved pardon.

It is related that after this event a revelation arrived, to the following purport: 'O O'zair, thou hast told me that I am a righteous judge and no tyrant, and hast asked Me why I punish innocent people for the crimes of the guilty. Know thou, O O'zair, that when I chastise wicked people, and cause the innocent to share the punishment, no objection can be raised, because I promote them to My eternal favours, consequently, I am dealing justly, and not tyranni-

cally, with them, inasmuch as they become the recipients of My boundless grace and protection, as I requite them for that [temporary] chastisement with [eternal] bliss.' Though O'zair had yet many other questions and difficulties to ask about fate, he refrained from stating them, because he dreaded the wrath of the Mighty Sovereign, having previously received the inspiration: 'If thou puttest any more questions about fate and predestination, I shall expunge thy name from the list of prophets'

Some historians have said that the prophet to whom the Lord God—whose name be glorified—had revealed the just-narrated maxims and whom He again resuscitated to life, was Armia [Jeremiah], and not O'zair. God, however, knows best the true state of all things.

Record of Zakria [Zachariah] and Yahia [John the Baptist], with some Account of Mariam [Mary]—Salutations to Them

God the Most Magnificent and Glorious has said. 'Allah hath surely chosen Adam and Nûh, and the family of Ebrahim, and the family of E'mrân, above the [rest of the] world; a race [descending] the one from the other. Allah is He who heareth and knoweth. [Remember] when the wife of E'mrân said, Lord, verily I have vowed unto Thee that which is in my womb to be dedicated [to Thy service], accept it, therefore, of me.'[153] God—t. w. m. a. gl.—also said: 'A commemoration of the mercy of thy Lord [towards] His servant Zakria,'[154] thus distinguishing him above all the persons mentioned in the Qurân [by revealing a whole chapter about him and his].

With reference to this subject, historians and narrators of traditions have mentioned that the father of Zakria Badhân—Be-dhân by name—was of the progeny of great prophets, and that E'mrân Bin Mâthân, the father of Mariam, was a descendant of Sulimân Bin Dâud. The wife of E'mrân and mother of Mariam was called Hanna, who

[153] Qurân, ch. iii. 30. [154] *Ibid.*, ch. xix. 1.

had also another and elder daughter than Mariam, of the name of Ashbaa', who slept on the bed of Zakria (u. w. b., etc.). Hanna despaired in her old age of obtaining a child, and was sitting in the shadow of a tree, when she perceived a bird opening an egg and producing a young one from it. At this sight the desire of bearing a child originated [again] in the breast of Hanna, and she besought the Infinite Granter to bestow an infant upon her. That very moment her courses came upon her, after which she had intercourse with her husband and conceived. After her pregnancy had become manifest she made a vow, that in case the embryo in her womb should remain free from injury, she would make her child a *Muharrar*, which word means a person not at all mixing in the affairs of the world, but remaining absorbed in the adoration of the Most Holy Essence of God—who is the necessary Cause of all things—in the mosque of Jerusalem, and engaged in no other business Females, however, being excused as unfit for such occupations, Hanna was much distressed and grieved when she gave birth to Mariam, on account of her inability to fulfil her vow. God—w. n. b. e.—has said, in the words of Hanna. 'I have brought forth a female—and Allah knew what she had brought forth, and a male is not as a female —I have called her Mariam, and I commend her to Thy protection, and [also] her issue against Satan driven away with stones.'[155] Then Hanna wrapped Mariam in swaddling clothes, and carried her to the Jewish priest in the mosque [*sic*]. The U'lâma were displeased with this proceeding; but a Divine allocution reached Zakria as follows: 'I have accepted the daughter instead of a son.' He whose name be magnified has said: 'Therefore the Lord accepted her with a gracious acceptance'[156] On that occasion the prophet officiating at the sacrificial altar was Zakria; but as Mariam

[155] Qurân, ch. iii., part of verse 31. The expression, 'Satan driven away with stones,' is explained by Sale as alluding to a tradition of Abraham having thrown stones at the devil when he tempted him to sacrifice his son; in memory of which pilgrims still throw stones with certain ceremonies in the Valley of Mina.

[156] Qurân, ch. iii. 32.

had been accepted by the Lord of lords, the priests vied with each other in trying to obtain the authority of raising and educating her. Zakria, however, said: 'I have the best right to take charge of her, because her sister is in my house.' The priests, however, rejoined, saying: '*Consanguinity is not a reason for preference in the tutorship of a minor.*' At last they agreed to draw lots, wrote their names upon the pens with which the Mosaic Law had been written, collected them all, covered them with a cloth, and decided that a small child should take out one of the pens, and that he whose name occurred thereon should become the protector of Mariam. One of the *Muharrar* children did so, and drew out the name of Zakria. The priests, however, still refused to comply, and said: 'Let us throw our pens into a running water, and the individual whose pen shall sink to the bottom shall become the guardian of Mariam.' When the pens were thrown into the water, that of Zakria sank, whilst all the others were borne away by the water. Then they said: 'Let us again throw the pens into the water, and the owner of the pen which the water will not carry off shall become the tutor of Mariam.' Also this was done, but the pen of Zakria did not swim away. He whose words be glorified has said: 'And I was not with them when they were throwing their pens, which of them should maintain Mariam' After the priests had thus drawn lots, they yielded at last to the decree of fate, whereon Zakria sent Mariam to her sister Ashbaa' into his own house to be instructed in piety, adoration, and service in the mosque. Zakria had prepared a closet in the mosque to be a lodging for Mariam, and this chamber was nicely adorned. When his lordship the prophet left the mosque he locked the door of the closet. On several occasions when Zakria paid visits to Mariam he perceived various summer and winter fruits near her which were out of season, wherefore he asked her. 'O Mariam, whence hast thou this?' She answered: 'This is from Allah, because Allah provideth for whom He pleaseth without measure.'[167]

[167] Qurân, ch. iii. 32

Noticing the circumstances of Mariam, Zakria said to himself: 'The Omnipotent has granted fruits to Mariam which are out of season. It is possible that He will also bestow a child upon me out of time.' Zakria at this time was very old, and so was his spouse; he nevertheless turned his face to the Qiblah of prayer, and said: 'Lord, give me from Thee a good offspring, for Thou art a hearer of prayer.'[158] The Creator—w. n. b. e.—granted his prayer, and despatched a company of angels to Zakria, whilst he was at his prayers, to inform him of the birth of Yahia. Allah—w. n. b. e.—has said: 'And the angels called him while he stood praying in the chamber [saying], Verily, Allah promiseth thee [a son named] Yahia.'[159] And in another place He said: 'O Zakria, verily we bring thee tidings of a son whose name [shall be] Yahia. We have not caused any to bear the same name before him.'[160] Many U'lâma assert that in several passages of the glorious Qurân the word 'angels' means 'Jebrâil,' and the above verse is a similar one. 'Who shall bear witness to the Word [which cometh] from Allah; an honourable person, chaste.'[161] The etymological signification of 'chaste' denotes a man who abstains from intercourse with females on account of his continence, and not on account of his loss of the feeling of lust; he namely restrains himself with a pious mind from having sexual intercourse with women

When these glad tidings reached the hearing of Zakria, while he was yet engaged in prayers for obtaining a son, he was astonished, and said: 'Lord, how shall I have a son, when old age hath overtaken me, and my wife is barren?'[162] Then her courses came upon the wife of Zakria, and after her purification he had connection with her, so that she became pregnant with Yahia. Zakria then left her, and had not the strength to utter a single word for three days. 'Thou shalt speak unto no man for three days otherwise than by gesture.'[163] After the termination of pregnancy Yahia was born, and both his parents were highly rejoiced

[158] Qurân, ch. iii. 33. [159] *Ibid.*, 34. [160] *Ibid.*, ch. xix. 7, 8.
[161] *Ibid.*, ch. iii. 34. [162] *Ibid.*, 35. [163] *Ibid.*, 36.

on beholding him. A short time afterwards the Creator of light and darkness illuminated the casket of his heart with the lights of knowledge and science. 'O Yahia, receive the book [of the Law] with a resolution [to study and observe it]. And we bestowed on him wisdom [when he was yet] a child.'[164] Ebn A'bbâs—u. w. b, etc.—says that when Yahia was four years old he happened to pass near a company of children who were playing. They called out to him to share their sport, but Yahia replied: 'Praise be to God! we have not been created for play.' It is related that when Yahia was yet very small, he requested his parents to dress him in monastic garments. He then wore the garb of a monk, entered the mosque of the Holy House in company with others, engaged in prayers, and was satisfied with but little food and drink, so that his full moon became a crescent, and his body [lean] like a toothpick. Both his parents then requested him to adapt his devotions to his [physical] power of endurance, and to eat more; but he complied not with their demand, weeping so much from awe and fear of God—w. n. b. e.—that his tears left traces on his cheeks like two small brooks, wherefore his mother placed two rags of felt on his cheeks to absorb the tears.

It is said that every time Yahia assisted at his father's preaching, Zakria refrained from mentioning hell, because Yahia could not bear to hear it named. Once he happened to be in his father's congregation, plunged in deep meditation, and Zakria, not being aware of his presence, said on that occasion: 'Jebrâil has informed me that in hell there is a mountain named Sakrân; adjoining to it there is a Vâdí called A'siân [valley of sin], the distress wherein originates from the wrath of God—whose memory be glorified.' When Yahia heard these words, he uttered a shriek and fell senseless upon his face. Then Zakria departed from the assembly, informed the mother of Yahia of what had taken place, and said: 'Arise; let us see in what state our child is.' Both left the house and sought

[164] Qurân, ch. xix. 13.

him during three days and nights, but unsuccessfully. On the fourth day, however, they discovered him sitting near a fountain, in one of the declivities about Jerusalem, with his blessed feet immersed in the water, and looking toward heaven. His parents spoke to him very tenderly, and succeeded in conveying him back to their home. They forced him to eat a little food; his mother took off his woollen garment from his body, put him to bed, and Yahia fell asleep, so that he missed his prayers. When he awoke he exclaimed: 'Bring my coarse woollen garments, for I do not want thy soft bed.' Zakria said to his spouse: 'Let Yahia live as he likes. I hope his aspirations will be fulfilled in the next world.' As Yahia was constantly weeping beyond all measure, Zakria said: 'O my darling, I besought God—w. n. b. e.—to grant me a child, that would be a joy and comfort to me, but thou embitterest my life by constantly weeping, and hast become an occasion of distress of mind to me.' Yahia replied: 'Hast thou not said that Jebrâil informed thee of the existence of a desert full of fire between paradise and hell, and that the fire cannot be extinguished except with tears?' Zakria said: 'Yes;' and Yahia continued: 'Do not prohibit me from weeping, because possibly the water of my eyes may extinguish the fire of that desert.' Zakria then began himself to weep, and said: 'Verily thou hast a right to weep.'

It is said that, as I'sa [Jesus]—u. w. b., etc.—was the possessor of a religious Law, Yahia spent most of his time in his company. One day I'sa said to Yahia: 'I see thee always with a distressed mind; perhaps thou hast despaired of the mercy of God'—w. n. b. e. Yahia replied: 'I see thee always smiling; perchance thou art sure of not incurring the displeasure of the Lord?' After this controversy a revelation arrived from the Lord of glory to both of them, of the following import: 'The case is as I'sa, and not as Yahia, supposes.'

RECORD OF THE MURDER OF THE LORD ZAKRIA AND OF YAHIA—U. W. B., ETC.

Various traditions have come to our notice on this subject, but the reed of explanation will confine itself to the narrative of the most current one with reference to the murder of both these exalted prophets, in order to avoid prolixity, and weariness to the reader.

The majority of historians assert that when Mariam became pregnant, and no one except Zakria visited her, the Jews, who were mostly of a slanderous, defamatory and obstinate disposition, accused Zakria of having committed adultery [with her], and intended to kill him. His lordship became aware of their designs, left the people, and fled. On his way he saw a tree from which he heard a voice saying: 'O Zakria, come to me!' When he reached the tree it split, and allowed him to enter the cavity, whereon the aperture again closed itself; Satan, however, took hold of the skirt of his garment, so that it remained outside the tree. Those who had gone in pursuit of Zakria beheld Satan in human form, and asked him whether he had seen the fugitive, of whom they gave him a description. Satan replied: 'I have not seen a greater sorcerer than that old man; for he has by magic split a tree and entered its cavity.' They replied. 'Thou art a liar!' Eblis said: 'The edges of his robe that have remained outside bear witness to the truth of my assertion.' The people now wanted to set the tree on fire; Satan, however, induced them to saw it in twain, with Zakria therein; and those misguided people carried out the suggestion. It is said that when the august head of Zakria was being touched by the saw, he wished to draw a sigh, but the Divine allocution arrived: 'Restrain thy breath, or else I shall blot out thy name from the list of prophets' Alas that He should sometimes see His friend within a tree, with a saw cutting his head, and not allow him to draw breath, whereas His enemies gather fruits from the tree of those endowed [with piety], and are not grateful for

the blessing! nobody, however, can [venture to] say anything concerning events like these, and scrutinize the why and the wherefore, because Allah doth what He listeth and judgeth as He chooseth!

Wuhub Bin Muniah states that the prophet Sha'ia was killed in this manner, and that the Lord Zakria departed this life on his own bed, as has been narrated above in these pages.

According to the most current traditions, the murder of Yahia, the son of Zakria, took place as follows: At that time there reigned a king the unhallowed disposition of whose spouse was such that she hated prophets, saints, and pious men. She had a pretty daughter by a former husband, but as she had herself now become aged, and was apprehensive that the king might take another wife, whereby her influence would be diminished, she offered him her daughter in marriage. He replied: 'I shall institute inquiries on this subject, and if it be permissible, I promise to comply with thy request.' Thereon he consulted Yahia, the son of Zakria; but his lordship the prophet replied: 'Such a union is vain, and such espousals are wicked'[165] The king said to his flagitious consort: 'Yahia is a prophet of God, and forbids this marriage.' That worthless woman then conceived great aversion for Yahia, but waited [for an opportunity to manifest it] until one day when the king was drunk On that occasion she adorned her daughter and sent her to him; no stranger being present, he wished to have sexual intercourse with her; the daughter, however, said 'I shall not obey thee until thou compliest with my request.' The king asked: 'What is thy desire?' She rejoined: 'The death of Yahia, the son of Zakria.' In the height of his intoxication and lust, the king said: 'Let thy wish be fulfilled.' Accordingly the ill-fated monarch despatched a caitiff, who separated the head of Yahia from his body, placed it on a charger, and brought it into the assembly.[166] But the

[165] Matthew, ch. xiv. 4: 'For John said unto him, It is not lawful for thee to have her.'

[166] *Ibid.*, 11: 'And his head was brought in a charger.'

king heard from the head twice the following words: 'This girl is not lawful for thee.' According to one tradition, the earth swallowed the king and the girl by command of the Supreme Judge, but according to others the murder [of Yahia] was the second transgression of the children of Esrâil mentioned in the glorious Qurân,[167] as has been related above.

It is related that after this iniquitous event God—w. n. b. e.—sent a King of Persia named Kardûs [or Gudarz] to the children of Esrâil to avenge upon them the murders of Zakria and Yahia. Kardûs arrived, devastated Syria, and encamped near the Holy House. He ordered a general, whose name was Firûz, to kill such a number of Jews that their blood should flow as far as his camp. Firûz accordingly had a fosse dug from the gate of the Holy House to the camp. Then he entered the city, and arrived near a spot where blood was bubbling, but on inquiry was informed that it was gushing in that manner since the murder of Yahia.

In short, the general drew forth the scimitar of persecution from the scabbard of vengeance, and began the carnage. When the number of the slain amounted to seventy thousand, the blood ceased to flow [from the above-mentioned spot]. Firûz then reported this matter to the king, who said: 'Do not stop the massacre, for the blood has not yet reached the camp.' Firûz, however, feeling commiseration for those whom the sword had spared, slaughtered merely their cattle and other quadrupeds, that the desire of Kardûs might be accomplished.

Let it not remain hidden from the intelligent and the discerning that in this place a tradition has occurred to the mind of the author, which the split reed makes bold to narrate as follows: The prophet—u. w. b., etc.—has said: 'The worst people are those who slay prophets or are slain by them.' That model of verifiers, Shekh Sadr-ud-din—may his secret be sanctified—has related the subtleties and maxims of forty traditions of the Elected One [*i.e.*, Muham-

[167] Qurân, ch. xvii. 4-7, and notes thereon.

mad], and the above is related among them. In the exposition of the first part of this tradition, that exalted individual informs us that, as the great prophets enjoy a high degree of felicity and perfection, those who kill them in consequence of their perverse disposition must be extremely miserable and ignorant. Explaining the second portion of that sentence, he says that prophets of high station are a mercy unto the inhabitants of this world, and they never destroy the existence of any man before they are fully convinced that not the least good quality has remained in him, but that he is only an incarnation of evil and iniquity. The author [of these pages] asserts that the wickedness [of the persons falling a prey to wrath in the manner mentioned] in the second part is greater, because the murder of a prophet may be perpetrated by ill-nature, inadvertence, or mistake; but prophets not being liable to the just-mentioned infirmities, everything done by them originates from perfect conviction and foresight.

Let it not remain unknown that to his majesty the king and refuge of Islâm—may the tent-ropes of his monarchy be fixed with the pegs of eternity—the Creator—whose name be praised—has vouchsafed the grace to exterminate, with the sword of chastisement and vengeance, a company of malefactors, from the defilement of whose existence the prophet would have purified the world if they had existed in his time; and it is hoped that the remnant of that tribe will in the same way be gathered to their brothers who have passed away, as just related, for that is not difficult to God.[168]

In short, the majority of historians deserving of confidence state that the murder of Yahia took place after the ascension of the Lord I'sa. The time of their births was nearly the same, and both these children of propitious advent were cousins. The blessings of Allah be on our

[168] *As our author does not specify the crime nor the individuals punished for it, we must remain ignorant of the whole occurrence, which was contemporaneous with him, and probably took place in Herât. The malefactors alluded to were probably schismatics.*

prophet and upon both of them, as well as on all the prophets and inspired messengers [*i.e.*, apostles] till the day of judgment.

Record of I'sa [Jesus], the Son of Mariam [Mary]—Salutation to Him.

The Lord and Creator of beings had, before the creation of I'sa, informed Mariam of his existence, as He—whose name be magnified—had spoken: 'When the angels said, O Mariam, verily Allah sendeth thee the glad tidings of His word, his name will be the Messaiah I'sa, son of Mariam, honourable in this world and in the next, and one who approaches near to Allah, and he will speak to men in the cradle.'[169] During the time of suckling, I'sa had before the due season possessed the supernatural power of speaking. It is related of the Lady Mariam that she said: 'When I was pregnant, my son I sa conversed with me whilst as yet in my womb, and I used to speak with him; but when anyone else engaged my attention, he was occupied in praising God, and I used to listen to his ejaculatory praises.' The words 'And when he is grown up'[170] mean that he will speak to people during that period before his ascension to heaven.

His speaking whilst yet an infant was a miracle, in order that, when he should in his mature age [*kahulat*] lay claim to prophecy, people might not accuse him of falsehood after having seen his first unusual manifestation of speech. It is also said that *kuhilla* means 'with gentleness,' and the Arabs call *kahulat* 'praise,' because it is the best part of a man's life, between youth and old age. It is the prime, and neither youth nor decrepitude. The work *kuhl* means also 'age,' and they say *iktahal-ul-beit* when the house is of long standing and strong. 'And he shall be one of the righteous,'[171] namely, 'just.' Mariam said: 'Lord, how shall I have a son, since a man hath not touched me?'[172] She had said these words by way of astonishment, as it was

[169] Qurân, ch III 40, 41.
[170] *Ibid.*, 41.
[171] *Ibid.*, 41.
[172] *Ibid.*, 42.

not usual for children to be born without fathers. Jebrâil said: 'Thus Allah createth what He pleaseth.'[173] The Almighty says in the Surah Mariam: 'And remember in the book [of the Qurân the story of] Mariam, when she retired from her family to a place towards the east, and took a veil [to conceal herself] from them.'[174]

The pregnancy of Mariam originated as follows: One day she had in the house of her sister Ashbaa' suspended a curtain, and desired to perform her menstrual ablution. On that occasion Jebrâil made his appearance in the shape of a beardless, handsome, well-grown youth with curled hair. 'And we sent our spirit [Gabriel] unto her, and he appeared unto her [in the shape of] a perfect man. She said, I fly for refuge unto the merciful [God, that He may defend me] from thee; if thou art pious [thou wilt not approach me].'[175] Some have asserted that in those days there was a youth addicted to women, who was, by way of irony, nicknamed 'Pious,'[176] in the same way as a negro is by contrast surnamed 'Camphor,' and that by the word *pious* Mariam meant the said man for whom she had mistaken Jebrâil. Some allege that Mariam admonished him, saying: 'If thou be Pious, abstain from profligacy, because a pious man fears the chastisements of the Lord.' [Gabriel] replied: 'So [shall it be]; thy Lord saith, This is easy with me, and [we will perform it], that we may ordain him for a sign unto men and a mercy from us, for it is a thing which is decreed.'[177] 'Allah shall teach him the Scripture, and wisdom, and the law, and the gospel, and [shall appoint him his] apostle to the children of Esrâil.'[178]

Ebn A'bbâs states that after Jebrâil had conversed with Mariam, he approached her, and breathed into her. Some say he breathed into her sleeve, whilst others assert that he breathed into her womb. That very moment the tree of the hopes of Mariam became fertilized with the fruit of

[173] Qurân, ch. iii. 42. [174] *Ibid.*, ch. xix. 16, 17. [175] *Ibid.*, 17, 18.

[176] This was also the name of nine popes, Pius IX. being the last of them.

[177] Qurân, ch. xix. 21. [178] *Ibid.*, iii. 43.

prosperity, and, according to tradition, I'sa was born after the expiration of nine months.

It is related that the first person who became aware of Mariam's pregnancy was Yusuf [Joseph] the carpenter, the son of her maternal aunt, who was worshipping in the mosque of the Holy House, and was in the habit of occasionally visiting her and conversing with her on the outside of the curtain. When he knew the state in which Mariam was, he became very sad and melancholy, and said one day to her: 'I have a suspicion about thy piety and devotion, and I wish to communicate it to thee.' Mariam gave him permission to do so, and he continued. 'Was there ever any harvest without seed, or can there be any seed without a harvest?' Mariam replied. 'If thou sayest that God—w. n. b. e.—has first created a harvest, it was without seed; and if thou sayest that He first created seed, it was produced without a harvest; and if thou sayest that He created both together, then one has not originated from the other.' Yusuf again asked. 'Has ever a tree grown without being watered?' Mariam rejoined: 'God has first created the tree, and after that He made water the cause of its life.' Yusuf asked for the third time: 'Has a child ever been born without a father?' Mariam replied · 'Also without a mother, since Adam and Havva [Eve] had neither a father nor a mother.' Yusuf acquiesced in the words of Mariam, and continued. 'My question was philosophical, and I beg your pardon for my boldness; but now my demand is that you inform me of the true way in which your pregnancy has taken place.' Mariam replied: 'Allah has sent me the glad tidings of His word from him, his name is the Messiah I'sa, the son of Mariam' (as far as the words 'of the righteous').[179] About the word *Masih* [Messiah] there are various opinions. It is of the *fa'il* form [in grammar], 'a patient,' which means 'a person having level

[179] In the Qurân, ch. III. 40, 41, this passage stands as follows: 'When the angels said · O Mariam, verily Allah sendeth thee good tidings [that thou shalt bear]the Word [proceeding] from Himself; his name shall be the Messiah I'sa, the son of Mariam, honourable in this world and in the world to come,' etc

soles,' so that they touch the ground everywhere, and there is no elevation [or hollowness] in the middle. Jebrâil had rubbed him with his wing so that Satan might have no power over him. According to another opinion, *Masih* is [also] a *fa'il*, [but] with the meaning of 'an agent,' and it is said that he was in this sense called *Masih* because he rubbed his hand upon sick persons and they were healed. Others, again, allege that he was called *Masih* because he travelled much, and the two parties who consider the word *Masih* to be 'a patient' or 'an agent,' have also other ways of explaining the term, which may be seen in commentaries of the Qurân. It is also said that he was called *Masih* because in him there was an unction [*masahat*] of beauty.

It is related that when the birth of I'sa was approaching the following allocution reached Mariam: 'Leave this city, because, if the people see thee in this state, they will kill thy child.' Therefore Mariam prepared to depart, and, Jebrâil being her guide, she left the Holy House with Yusuf the carpenter. After they had travelled two farsakhs, they arrived in one of the villages of Syria, called *Beit-ul-lahm*, 'House of the Flesh' [Bethlehem]. There the travail of parturition overtook her; she alighted, and leaned with her blessed body against a withered tree, saying: 'Would to God I had died before this, and had become [a thing] forgotten and lost in oblivion.'[180] On that occasion Allah—w. n. b e.—sent angels provided with everything necessary in such an emergency, who assembled around Mariam, and produced from the showers of infinite abundance a fountain of water in that place, for the purpose of washing I'sa immediately after his birth. Then Mariam heard the words. 'Be not grieved; now hath Allah provided a rivulet under thee.'[181] Some have said that Jebrâil was the herald who had thus spoken to Mariam, from the foot of the hillock where she was; after this, he again said by Divine command: 'Do thou shake the body of the palm-tree, and it shall let fall ripe dates upon thee

[180] Qurân, ch. xix. 23. [181] *Ibid.*, 24.

ready gathered.'[182] Mariam prayed to God, saying: 'O Lord, when I was healthy, Thou hast provided me with my daily food without any efforts of mine; but now, when I am sick, thou biddest me to shake the tree that the dates may fall, and I do not know what wisdom is in this.' The revelation then arrived: 'O Mariam, in those times thy whole mind was concentrated upon Me; now, however, as love for I'sa has taken possession of thy heart, thou must shake the tree to obtain food, and eat and drink and calm thy mind.'[183]

Mariam asked Jebrâil: 'What shall I say if people ask me whence I got this infant?' Jebrâil replied: 'If thou see a man [and he question thee], say, Verily, I have vowed a fast unto the Merciful, wherefore I will by no means speak to a man this day.'[184] In those days of the past, by fasting, not only abstinence from food, but also from speaking, was meant and practised. When the children of Esrâil heard of the departure of Mariam, they went in pursuit, and soon overtook her. They tore their garments and threw dust upon their heads, saying. 'O Mariam, now hast thou done a strange thing,'[185] meaning an awful thing. Then the people again exclaimed: 'O sister of Harûn!'[186] namely, resembling him in devotion, but, with reference to this phrase, there are also other explanations in commentaries to the Qurân. They said: 'Thy father was not a bad man,'[187] namely, an adulterer or fornicator, 'neither was thy mother a harlot,'[188] *i.e.*, she was not a courtezan. Mariam, however, pointed to I'sa, meaning that they should ask him, but they became angry, and said: 'How shall we speak to him who is an infant in the cradle?'[189] By the power of God, I'sa, nevertheless, uttered the following words: 'Verily, I am the servant of Allah; He hath given me the book [of the Gospel], and hath appointed me a prophet' (till the end of the verses).[190] After pronouncing these sentences, I'sa withdrew his tongue into the palate of

[182] Qurân, ch. xix. 25 [183] *Ibid.*, 26 [184] *Ibid.*, 27
[185] *Ibid.*, 28. [186] *Ibid.*, 29 [187] *Ibid.*, 29.
[188] *Ibid.*, 29. [189] *Ibid.*, 30 [190] *Ibid.*, 31-34.

silence until the time when it was customary for children to begin to speak. When the Jews had witnessed this miracle, they ceased to insult Mariam, and no more blamed her, because they knew that I'sa was the prophet whose advent ancient seers had foretold.

Some historians state that Mariam returned from Beit-ul-lahm to the Holy House, and remained there until the time when I'sa began to work prodigies, and to do unusual things, in consequence whereof the people wanted to kill him. Therefore Mariam went by Divine command towards Egypt or Damascus; some historians, however, assert that she departed in the very beginning with her son and Yusuf the carpenter to Damascus, where she dwelt until the time when the Gospel was sent down to I'sa [or, that,] when the latter attained his eleventh year, these three persons returned to their own country.

It is related that Mariam and I'sa dwelt in Damascus in the house of a rich man, who nourished and supported them; and many infirm, blind, and lame persons likewise passed their days under the shadow of his protection and care. At that time a costly article happened to be stolen from the house of the just-mentioned opulent gentleman, but no one was able to discover a clue concerning the perpetrators of the theft. I'sa, however, said: 'The article of the master was stolen by yonder blind, and this lame man.' Mariam said: 'Thou must not utter such words on mere suspicion.' I'sa replied 'I make my assertion from certainty.' Subsequently his lordship the prophet informed the master of the house on this subject, but when the latter accused the said persons of the theft, the blind man said: I have no eyes to see the place where the article was!' And the lame fellow said: 'I have no feet to enter the house and to carry off the article.' I'sa continued: 'This blind man has taken the lame one upon his back, and the latter was thus enabled to stretch forth his hand into the window, and to take out the article from the room.' When the blind man was led to the house his back was found to be on a level with the window, and after torture had been

applied to both these individuals they confessed their crime, so that the gentleman recovered his property.

When I'sa obtained his mission, he came to the Holy House and invited the Jews to profess his religion, but they insulted him and accused him of falsehood; the apostles, however, believed his words. Allah—w. n. b. e.—said: 'But when I'sa perceived their unbelief, he said, Who [will be] my helpers towards Allah? The apostles answered: We [will be] the helpers of Allah.'[191] Many historians have stated that the apostles were fullers, and that when they were washing clothes, I'sa said to them: 'If you were to cleanse the tablets of your minds from the defilements of sin it would be better for you.' Ka'b-ullâkhbâr[192] states that *tehwir* means 'to make white,' and as they were by washing making the clothes white they were called *Howariûn* [apostles]. Others, however, maintain that they were dyers, and that when I'sa was inviting them to follow and to obey the Divine laws, they asked for a miracle; therefore I'sa plunged all the clothes into one vat, and extracted afterwards every one of them dyed with the required colour, whereon all believed in him, and they were twelve in number.

It is related that the first thing which I'sa had been commanded to do in his mission was to proclaim the unity of God, and to confess that Muhammad—u. w. b., etc.—would be a prophet. 'And when I'sa, the son of Mariam, said, O children of Esrâil, verily I am the apostle of Allah [sent] unto you, confirming the Law which [was delivered] before me, and bringing good tidings of an apostle who shall come after me, [and] whose name [shall be] Ahmed.'[193]

[191] Qurân, ch. iii. 45.

[192] This man had been a Syrian Christian, but was received into Islâm by the Khalifah O'mar, after the taking of Jerusalem, and he conveyed him to Madinah. (See *Conquest of Syria*, by Waqidi, pp. 268-271, published in Arabic in the *Bibl. Indica* of Calcutta, where the details of Ka'b's conversion are given in his own words.) According to the Rauzut-us-Safa, however, Ka'b-ullâkhbâr was not converted by O'mar, but by A'li, A.H. 10, and is said to have been a Jew from Yaman.

[193] Qurân, ch. lxi. 6. Muhammad also bore the name of Ahmed.

His lordship had a woollen fillet on his head, and wore a garment of the same material on his body. He carried a staff in his hand, and was constantly travelling; he was in the habit of spending the night in any place where it happened to overtake him.' His canopy was the darkness of the night, his bed the earth, and his cushion a stone. Some allege that his lordship consumed earth instead of bread, nor was he ever liable to joy or grief at obtaining or losing anything in the world. He ate oat-bread, travelled on foot, never had intercourse with females, and was not fond of smelling fragrant odours. He took no care about procuring dinner or supper, and wherever he ate bread he placed it on the ground, was contented with but little of it, and said: 'This is much for me, who must die.' One of his apostles requested him to procure a beast for the purpose of relieving himself from the trouble of walking, but he replied: 'I have not the price required.' They then purchased an animal for him, which he bestrode during the day, but when the night approached his noble mind became apprehensive about the food and water necessary for it; therefore he returned the quadruped to them, saying: 'I stand not in need of a thing that attracts [the attention of] my heart to itself.' One day they made another request to him, and said: 'O prophet of Allah permit us to build a house for thee?' He replied: 'What shall I do with a house that will fall to ruins if my life is long, and will become the property of another if it be short?' But as his companions insisted and expostulated with him on this subject he went with them to the seashore, and said: 'Can you build a house on these stormy waves?' They replied: 'No edifice can stand on waves, or even be built.' He said: 'Such is the relation of this world to the next.'

There is a tradition that one day he was walking in the road with three persons, who suddenly perceived two ingots of gold and desired to take possession of them. I'sa —u. w. b., etc.—however, demurred, saying: 'Be aware that these two ingots will become the occasion of the destruction of all three of you.' When I'sa had departed, one of the

said three men went to the bazaar to purchase food; his two remaining companions, however, agreed to kill him on his return, so that they might equally divide the ingots, and each obtain one. The man who brought food had mixed poison therewith in order to become the sole possessor of the treasure after the demise of his associates, but they slew him as soon as he had arrived; after that they partook of the poisoned victuals, and likewise departed to the next world. When I'sa returned he looked at those three victims of predestination, and said: 'It is thus that the world deals with those who are addicted to it.'

One of the miracles of the spirit of Allah [*i.e.*, Jesus] was, that he shaped a piece of loam into the figure of a bird, breathed into it, and it flew; this bird is called a bat. When the Jews beheld this miracle they exclaimed: 'This is evident sorcery.' Another of his miracles was that he cured the *Akma* and lepers. *Akma* are those who have no cavities for the eyes from their birth.

The most magnificent of speakers has said: 'I [*i.e.*, I'sa] will make before you, of clay, as it were the figure of a bird; then I will breathe thereon, and it shall become a bird by the permission of Allah; and I will heal him that hath been blind from his birth [*Akma*], and the leper.'[194] In those times such diseases were frequent, and the medical art was highly appreciated. Another miracle was that he resuscitated the dead to life, as the Most High has said: 'And I will raise the dead by the permission of Allah.'[195] It is related that the first individual resuscitated to life by the felicity of his blessed respirations was the son of an old woman, which event took place as follows: When he was travelling he perceived on a certain occasion an aged woman sitting on a grave. He accosted her, and she informed him that this was the tomb of her son, near which she would remain till her dying day, or till her son would again become alive. I'sa said: 'Wilt thou leave this place if thy son becomes again alive?' She said: 'Yes.' Then his lordship fell on his knees and prayed;

[194] Qurân, ch. iii. 43. [195] *Ibid.*

after that he went to the tomb and exclaimed: 'O such an one, arise immediately by the command of Allah!' That very moment the grave opened, and a man came forth from it, who, shaking the dust from his head, said: 'O spirit of Allah! what was thy reason for calling me?' I'sa informed him of his mother's wish, but the son of the old woman besought I'sa to allow him to return to his resting-place, and so cause the agonies of death to be easy to him. His request was complied with; the son of the old woman returned to the grave, which closed itself over him as before; but the obdurate Jews, when they heard of this event, said: 'We have not heard about a greater sorcery than this.'

RECORD OF THE GOING OF I'SA—U. W. B., ETC.—TO THE REGION OF NASSIBIN, AND THE RESUSCITATION OF SÂM THE SON OF NÛH — U. W. B, ETC. — BY THE PRAYERS OF HIS LORDSHIP, U. W. B., ETC.

Historians have reported that in the time of I'sa—u. w. b., etc.—there was a king in the country of Nassibin who was very arrogant and tyrannical. I'sa having been sent on a mission to him, started towards Nassibin. When he arrived in the vicinity, he halted and said to his apostles: 'Which of you will enter the city and say: I'sa, who is a servant of Allah, His messenger and His word, is coming to you.' One of them, whose name was Ya'qûb, exclaimed: 'I will go, O spirit of Allah.' The Lord I'sa said: 'Go, although thou art the first who wilt separate thyself from me.' After that another monotheist, Tûmân by name, asked permission to accompany Ya'qûb. I'sa allowed him to do so, but said: 'O Tûmân, thou art predestined soon to be afflicted.' Then Shima'ûn said: 'O spirit of Allah, if thou wilt permit, I shall be the third of them, on condition that in case of trouble, when I invoke thy aid, thou wilt not withhold it.' After he had also obtained leave the three men departed. Shima'ûn tarried outside the city, saying to his companions: 'Enter ye, and do that which I'sa hath ordered you. If any misfortune befall you, I shall try

to remedy it.' Before they arrived in Nassibin the foes of religion had spread evil reports about I'sa and his mother, so that when Tûmân and Ya'qûb entered the city, and the latter individual raised the shout, 'Verily now I'sa, the spirit of Allah, and His word, His servant and His messenger [or apostle], has come to you,' the people turned towards him and asked: 'Who of you two is the speaker of these words?' Ya'qûb disavowed these words, and denied having uttered them, but Tûmân [on the contrary] said: 'I have spoken these words.' The people then accused him of falsehood, and uttered unbecoming sentiments with reference to I'sa and to Mariam. They led Tûmân to the king, who ordered him to revoke these words on pain of death. Tûmân refused to comply, whereon the tyrant commanded his hands and feet to be cut off, his eyes to be pierced with an awl, and his body to be thrown upon a dunghill. When Shima'ûn had heard what took place, he entered the city, waited upon the king, and said: 'I hope the benignity of your majesty will grant me permission to ask a few questions from a man who has been punished.' The king having assented, Shima'ûn went to the dunghill and asked Tûmân: 'What are thy words?' He replied: 'I say that I'sa is the spirit of Allah, His servant, and His messenger.' Shima'ûn continued: 'What are thy arguments in favour of the truth of these words?' Tûmân replied: 'He heals those who are blind from birth, lepers, and all kinds of diseases.' Shima'ûn continued: 'Physicians do these things likewise, and are participators in such acts. What other sign does he possess?' Tûmân said: 'He knows what people eat in their houses, and what they put aside.' Shima'ûn rejoined. 'Soothsayers do this. Is there any other sign in him?' Tûmân said: 'He makes a bird of clay, breathes into it, and it begins to fly.' Shima'ûn said: 'This looks like sorcery. What other argument has he in favour of his pretension?' He replied: 'By the permission of Allah—w. n. b. e.—he can resuscitate a dead man to life again.'

Shima'ûn then made the following report to the king,

saying: 'This culprit speaks of great things performed by I'sa, and which can originate only from the Omnipotent and Absolute Sovereign, or from His prophet. Any act of a messenger [i.e., apostle] also depends upon the permission of the Lord of lords, nor would the Eternally-living One allow any sorcerer to work such miracles. If I'sa be not a messenger of Allah, he cannot revive a dead body; therefore the best will be to call I'sa and to try him whether he can do all that this man asserts; but if I'sa refuses to comply, thou mayest [safely] chastise the man whom he has sent with any [additional] punishment thou mayest deem fit. If, on the other hand, I'sa resuscitates a dead man, we shall be obliged to believe in him, because the resuscitation of the dead will be a convincing argument and an invincible proof of his being a true prophet and a messenger [of God].' The king approved of what Shima'ûn had said, and ordered the spirit of Allah [i.e., Jesus] to be produced. I'sa—u. w. b., etc.—came, and by his advent the assembly received new lustre and freshness. The king then ordered Shima'ûn to converse, and so dispute with I'sa, to whom Shima'ûn accordingly said in the presence of the king: 'This thy envoy, who has incurred the wrath of our king, bears testimony that thou art a messenger of Allah.' I'sa replied: 'He speaks the truth.' Shima'ûn continued: 'He imagines thou art able to heal those who are blind from birth, and lepers, as well as that thou curest sick persons.' I'sa replied: 'His assertion is in conformity with facts.' Shima'ûn rejoined: 'It has been decided that if thou canst not perform that which Tûmân pretended concerning thee, we shall kill thee and thy companions.' I'sa said, 'Yes.' Shima'ûn asked: 'Then begin with thy companion.' I'sa thereon placed the hands and feet of Tûmân, which had been amputated, upon their stumps, and drew his own hands over them, whereon, by the power of Allah, Tûmân became whole as before. Then he rubbed his blessed hands upon the eyes of Tûmân, and he began to see. Shima'ûn exclaimed: 'O king, this is a sign of the signs of his being a prophet.' Then Shima'ûn begged I'sa

—u. w. b., etc.—to reveal what those present in the assembly had been eating last night, and what they had put aside. The Messiah—u. w. b., etc.,—then accosted each man separately, and told him what he had eaten the past evening, and what he had laid aside. Shima'ûn again said: 'Thy envoy imagines that thou makest of clay the similitude of a bird, and after breathing into it, thou causest it to fly; and the king wishes to behold this strange event.' I'sa asked: 'The figure of what bird is wanted?' They said, 'The bat, because it is a strange bird.' Accordingly he fashioned it, breathed on it, and it flew.

It is related after Solmân, the Persian, that when all the sick of Nassibin had been healed, the people requested I'sa to resuscitate a dead man. His lordship said: 'Whatever deceased person you may point out, I shall recall him to life by the permission of the Living Immortal One.' They said: 'Sâm, the son of Nuh, is our ancestor; his corpse is not far from this place, if thou consentest to resuscitate it by thy sublime breathings.' I'sa agreed, and the people conducted him to a tomb, where the spirit of Allah [*i.e.*, Jesus] fell on his knees, raising his hands in supplication. After he had terminated his devotions, he called out to Sâm, by the command of the Creator of heaven and earth, whereon the soil moved and opened, when a man with a gray head and beard issued from the tomb, and said: 'I obey, O spirit of Allah.' Then he harangued those present as follows: 'O people, this is I'sa, the son of the blessed virgin Mariam, the spirit of Allah, and His word which he is preaching. You must believe in his prophetic dignity, and follow him.' I'sa asked Sâm: 'In your time the hair of men never became gray; how is this [that yours is so]?' He replied: 'When I heard thy voice, I thought that the resurrection was at hand, and I was so awed that my hair turned gray.' I'sa again asked: 'How many years is it since thou art dead?' Sâm replied: 'Four thousand years.' I'sa continued: 'I shall pray that Allah—w. n. b. e.—may allow thee to live for some time.' Sâm [however] replied: 'Since it will, after all, be necessary to taste the unpleasant

beverage of death, I wish not for this miserable life, and I still remember my agonies of death. I beseech thee to implore the Almighty—w. n. b. e.—to receive me into the propinquity of His mercy.' I'sa then prayed, Sâm returned to his former condition, and the particles of earth again united [and covered him]. Solmân the Persian narrated that when the King of Nassibin and his people had witnessed this miracle, he with his army, followers and subjects believed in I'sa.

Record of the Descent of the Table from Heaven by the Prayers of the Lord I'sa—u. w. b., etc.

One of the strange events and wonderful prodigies of I'sa—u. w. b., etc.—was the appearance and descent of the table, which took place as follows: The apostles, who were always with I'sa, happened on a certain occasion to be hungry, with a great multitude of people, whilst they were travelling. All the people asked I'sa to beseech the Almighty Creator to send down from heaven a table full of victuals; the apostles, however, rejected this proposal, but the people urged them to acquaint I'sa with their wish, *wherefore the Messiah was informed of their request.* He whose name be glorified has said: 'The apostles said, O I'sa, son of Mariam, is thy Lord able to cause a table to descend to us from heaven? He answered, Fear Allah, if ye be true believers.'[196] The apostles replied in the words of the people: 'We deny not the power of Allah, but we wish to eat of that table, to comfort our hearts, and so increase our faith in thy words, so that we may become convinced that thou art indeed the messenger of Allah and that thy words are true. After having eaten of the table we shall all be compelled to acknowledge the unity and omnipotence of Allah, as well as the truth of thy prophecy and messengership.'

Some have, with reference to the words 'that we may be witnesses thereof,'[197] asserted that they imply a pledge of the people to bear testimony in his favour, on their

[196] Qurân, ch. v. 112. [197] *Ibid.*, 113.

return to the children of Esrâil. After they had repeatedly proffered their request, I'sa—u. w. b., etc.—humbly supplicated, saying: 'O Allah, our Lord, cause a table to descend to us from heaven, that [the day of its descent] may become a festival unto us, unto the first of us, and unto the last of us, and a sign from Thee; and also to provide food for us, for Thou art the best provider.'[198] When I'sa had finished his prayers, the revelation descended: 'I have granted thy request, and sent a table; but whoever of you shall, after having seen it, become ungrateful, will be chastised by Me, as no one of the inhabitants of the world had been punished ere this.' By the words 'inhabitants of the world,' the people of that age are meant.

I'sa informed the people of this revelation, and they said: 'Whoever is ungrateful is worthy of punishment.' Then a table descended from heaven, by the prayers of I'sa; over it there was a cloud, and also under it. The descent took place slowly, until at last the table became stationary in front of I'sa—u. w. b., etc.—and its fragrant exhalations gratified the senses of all present. I'sa and his *apostles bowed their heads in adoration, and he said*: 'Let one of you who is most beneficent, and who is most confident of the power of God, arise and remove the cover, that we may see the bounties of the Lord, and thank Him for them.' The apostles replied: 'Thou art the most fit and worthy to perform this act.' Accordingly the Lord I'sa fell on his knees, prayed and removed the cover, after uttering the words: 'In the name of Allah, the best provider of food.' The people then approached and beheld a table of pure gold, forty cubits long, and as many broad, standing on four legs. Upon it they perceived a red cloth, on which there was a roasted fish without scales or fins, from which fat was flowing. Around it they saw all kinds of vegetables except onions and leeks. Near the head of the fish there was some salt, and near its tail some vinegar. Around it there were five loaves of bread, on each of which

[198] Qurân, ch. v. 114.

there were a few olives, five pomegranates, and five dates. Shima'ûn asked: 'O spirit of Allah! is this the food of paradise or of the world?' I'sa replied: 'Of neither, but it has descended from heaven.' Then the Messiah continued: 'Eat ye, and pronounce the name of Allah over it.' The apostle said: 'O prophet of God, begin thou to eat first.' I'sa refused, and said: 'Let everyone eat of it who has asked.' From the refusal of I'sa the apostles knew that the descent of the table was connected with a Divine chastisement [that would follow]. Therefore they agreed with the spirit of Allah [not to eat]. I'sa then invited the people, whereon many rich and poor and sick assembled around the table. Every blind man who ate of that food recovered his sight, and every sick person was cured of his disease. Immense crowds partook of the food of that table, which, however, remained in its first state, so that nothing appeared to have been consumed. According to a tradition, the said table descended from heaven during forty days, and again ascended at sunset. I'sa caused the people daily to partake of the food, until the revelations arrived that none but orphans, poor, and sick persons be allowed to eat of that food. This command was deemed very unjust by the rich, and some of them said: 'This is not the table of God,' whilst others also suspected that it had not descended from heaven. On that occasion the following Divine allocution reached I'sa: 'On account of the promise which I have made, I shall punish the doubters and the ungrateful.' It is recorded according to one tradition, that after I'sa had informed them of the imminent chastisement, four hundred individuals arose one morning from their beds, changed into hogs. They then began to pick up offal from dunghills, came to I'sa, laid their heads on the ground, wept tears of repentance on I'sa, who called everyone by his name, saying: 'Thou art such and such an one,' which words they confirmed by affirmatively nodding with their heads; but after the expiration of three nights and days they gave up their ghosts in the most opprobrious manner.

Record of the Flight of I'sa—U. W. B., etc.—from Jerusalem, and an Account of some of his Miracles during that Journey.

When the Jews accused his prophetic lordship of falsehood and expelled him from the city, I'sa departed with Mariam and arrived in one of the villages of Syria, where they alighted at the house of one of the nobles of that country, who treated them with respect and kindness, requesting them to take up their abode with him. One day the gentleman of the house happened to return home, full of sadness and grief. He informed Mariam that his distress originated from the fact of the king's desire—who was an oppressor, and accustomed every evening to pay a visit to one of his subjects, and to carouse in his house—of spending the night in his abode, and that he had neither the wealth nor power required for entertaining the king with his retinue and servants. Mariam, who sympathized with the landlord, requested I'sa to remedy this difficulty. I'sa, however, replied: 'This is connected with a great trial.' Mariam replied: 'This man has great claim to our protection; there is no need to be apprehensive of any trial.' The Messiah then complied with the request of his mother, ordered the vessels and pots to be filled with water before the banquet, and supplicated the Omnipotent Creator, whereon the vessels became all filled with meat, and the pots with generous red wine, whilst the table was full of bread. After eating the king quaffed a bumper, and found that he had tasted delicious wine, the like of which he had never drank before. He therefore asked his host whence he had obtained it, whereon the latter named a certain village; but the king assured him that this wine could not be compared with that of the said place, and advised him to tell the truth. Then the landlord mentioned another town, which subterfuge so incensed the king that the poor man's life was in danger. He then confessed that in his vicinity there was a youth who had no father, and that

anything he asked from the Almighty Creator was granted, and that all these victuals, together with the wine, had been produced by his supplications from the invisible world. The king immediately called for I'sa, and wanted him to pray that his son and successor to the throne, who had lately died, might be resuscitated to life. I'sa replied: 'If the prince returns to life thy royalty will be endangered.' The king rejoined: 'After seeing him I shall dread no misfortune' I'sa continued: 'I shall resuscitate the prince to life on the condition that no one be allowed to expel me from this country.' The king assented, whereon I'sa prayed, resuscitated the prince to life, and after performing this miracle departed to another place. When the son of the king was again alive, the people said: 'The oppression of this tyrant has reduced us to extremities; we hoped, however, that we would be relieved by his death, but now there is no doubt that the son will, after the demise of his father, renew his opprobrious habits. The remedy therefore is to kill both the father and the son, so as to get at once rid of their violence and tyranny.' They all agreed, and executed their design by drawing the sword of opposition from its scabbard, and exterminating both of them.

After I'sa and Mariam had left the said village, they met a Jew who possessed two loaves of bread, while they had only one. I'sa said to the Jew: 'Let us have all our provisions in common.' The Jew assented; but when he perceived that I'sa had only one loaf he repented of his promise, and during the night secretly disposed of the second loaf. In the morning I'sa told his companion to produce his food, but he showed only one loaf, whereon I'sa asked: 'Where is the other?' But he replied, 'I had no other loaf except this one.' The Messiah said nothing more, but after they had travelled awhile they reached a spot where a man was pasturing sheep, and he accosted him with the words: 'Owner of the sheep! show me hospitality.' The shepherd agreed and said: 'Tell thy companion to pick out a sheep and to kill it.' I'sa then ordered the Jew to kill and to roast a sheep, but added: 'We must

eat it, but preserve its bones.' After they had finished the repast I'sa collected all the unbroken bones, put them into the hide, and struck the latter with his staff, saying: 'Arise by the command of Allah.' The sheep then immediately became alive, and I'sa said to the shepherd: 'Take thy sheep.' The man asked in astonishment: 'Who art thou?' He replied: 'I am I'sa, the son of Mariam.' The shepherd rejoined: 'Thou art a sorcerer, about whom we have heard.' After thus insulting him he ran away from I'sa, who, when he had performed this miracle, asked the Jew: 'Thou hast had two loaves, what hast thou done with the other?' The Jew, however, swore that he never had more than one loaf. I'sa again became silent, and they departed also from that place. Whilst they were journeying they happened to meet a fellow who had several kine. I'sa took a calf from him, which they slaughtered, roasted and consumed; whereon the spirit of Allah again resuscitated the calf, as he had done before [to the sheep], and surrendered it to its owner. After that he asked the Jew for the missing loaf, but received the same answer as before. Then they again travelled by common consent, until they arrived in a town, where they separated. The king of the said town was reposing on the couch of sickness, and his physicians having been unable to cure him, he punished them. When the Jew heard of this matter, he procured a cane resembling the staff of I'sa, and went to the palace with the intention of imitating him. He said to the courtiers: 'I shall heal your patient, and if he be dead I shall resuscitate him.' They accordingly led him to the bed of the king, whose feet he then repeatedly struck with the staff. The king nevertheless expired, and though the Jew gave him many blows with his staff, and said, 'Arise by the command of Allah,' it was of no use. When his inability to revive the king became evident, the courtiers accused him of having slain their master, and suspended him upside down from a gibbet. When I'sa heard of what had happened, he went to the place of execution, where he saw the Jew with a rope round his neck, and the people wanting to drop him

from the head to the foot of the gallows. I'sa said: 'If you desire the king to be recalled to life, leave my friend alone.' They replied: 'This is our wish, and when the king is again alive we shall let go thy friend.' I'sa then prayed to the Lord of Magnificence, resuscitated the king, and delivered the Jew from his scrape. They departed together, and the Jew, having escaped death, said to I'sa: 'By saving me from death thou hast so highly obliged me that I swear by Allah never to leave thy service.' The Messiah—u. w. b., etc.—replied: 'I adjure thee by the true God, who has resuscitated the sheep and the calf, after we had roasted and eaten them; by that God who resuscitated the king after he had died, and who has granted thee life after having been on the gallows, tell me how many loaves thou hadst in thy possession when beginning to accompany me?' The Jew again swore an oath that he never had more than one loaf. I'sa then again placed the seal of taciturnity upon his mouth, and they continued the journey together. They happened to see a place where a wild beast had, whilst digging about, found a treasure, of which no one had become cognizant till that day. The Jew asked I'sa: 'Leaving this treasure untouched, where are we going?' I'sa replied: 'Cease these words, for such is the decree of fate, that several persons must perish on account of this treasure.' The Jew, having no means of resistance, went in obedience to, and with, the spirit of Allah. After they had departed four men arrived near the treasure, two of whom then went to the city to purchase food and drink, as well as to procure the utensils necessary for the removal of the treasure. The two remaining men, however, had conspired with each other to slay those who had gone, because they wanted to take possession of their shares also. Those, however, who had departed, harboured the same murderous intentions, and mixed a lethal poison with the food. Then they returned and were killed by the swords of their remaining two companions, who in their turn died when they had eaten of the poisoned food. Thus all these four individuals pitched their tents in the plain of annihila-

tion.[109] Then addressed the Jew, in the language of the circumstances, as follows:

Distich: The companions are gone, have reached the term;
In the sleep of deceit art thou still plunged, careless heart?

After I'sa had been informed by Divine revelation he said to the Jew: 'Come, let us go to see the treasure.' The greedy fellow having made the preparations necessary for taking possession and for removing the property, departed with the spirit of Allah [*i.e.*, Jesus]. When they reached the spot they beheld the four dead companions, whereon the Lord I'sa divided the treasure into three parts, of which he gave one to the Jew, and retained the other two for himself. The Jew then said: 'O spirit of Allah, thou must be just in making the distribution, and must divide the property into two parts, one of which will belong to thee, and the other to me.' I'sa rejoined: 'One share belongs to me, the second to thee, and the third to the owner of the lost loaf.' The Jew asked: 'If I point out to thee the owner of the lost loaf, wilt thou surrender to him his portion?' I'sa replied: 'Yes.' The Jew continued: 'I am the owner of it.' The spirit of Allah said: 'Then take possession of the whole treasure, because thy share [of happiness] consists therein in this world and in the next.' That ill-fated individual then took the worldly goods, but when he had travelled a short distance the earth opened, and swallowed him with all he possessed. Let us take refuge with Allah from [the temptations of] this world!

One of the wonderful prodigies of I'sa was, that when his lordship was one day passing with his companions through a field which was almost ripe for the harvest, his friends were hungry, and asked for permission to eat some of the grain. The revelation having descended to I'sa to allow them to do so, they began to eat; but the owner of the harvest suddenly arrived, shouting, 'I have inherited this field from my ancestors; by whose permission are you now

[109] The above tale is identical with one narrated a few pages before; the only difference being that there three, and here four men found the treasure.

eating thereof?' The lord I'sa was displeased with this interference, and prayed that all might be resuscitated who had ever been owners of the said field. This actually took place, and on near every blade a man or woman arose, exclaiming, 'By whose permission do you commit ravages on my property?' The owner of the field was confused, and asked, 'Who produced this miracle?' They replied: 'I'sa, the son of Mariam.' Then he approached I'sa with excuses, saying, 'O spirit of Allah, I knew thee not; now, however, I am cognizant who thou art, and allow thy companions to eat of my harvest.' I'sa—u. w. b., etc.—replied: 'In reality this field does not belong to thee, because these people possessed it before thee, and have left it against their will. What happened to them will soon come to pass with thee also'

It is related that one day I'sa had placed a stone under his head, and Satan approached his cushion, saying, 'Thou thinkest thou art attached to nothing in this world, but this stone also belongs to the world' I'sa then arose, and threw the stone towards Satan, exclaiming: 'This belongs to thee with the world, and by my life! The world and its inhabitants belong to thee!'

Distich: I am the slave of him who beneath this azure sky
Is free from everything that may claim attachment.[200]

Hasan Bossri—mercy be on him!—has related that the apostles of I'sa said. 'O spirit of Allah! thou walkest on the surface of the water, and we are unable to do so; what is the reason?' I'sa replied. '[I walk thus.] By certainty in Allah, w. n. b. e.' They continued: 'We are likewise of those who have attained certainty.' The spirit of Allah asked: 'If you perceive a stone and a jewel on the ground, which of them will you pick up?' They replied: 'We would take the jewel.' His lordship continued: 'Then you are not of those who have attained certainty.'

Hasan Bossri also says that I'sa received his mission in his thirteenth year, and that he was taken up to heaven in

[200] Those who are familiar with the poet Hafiz, will not fail to recognise the above couplet, despite its imperfect English rendering.

his thirty-third. Others allege that he had been sent in the seventeenth, and others in his twenty-seventh year. According to some traditions, all the inhabitants of paradise are thirty-three years old, and these words were for a long time difficult to be understood by the author of these pages; but whilst writing it occurred to him that possibly the said years imply maturity of intellect, because the denizens of paradise will for ever remain in the same condition, and will never become subject either to decrepitude or to old age. In the *Ma'arif Hassibi* it is related that I'sa—u. w. b., etc.—ascended to heaven in his forty-second year, and that in the twelfth year of his age the Gospel was sent down to him in the town of Nâssra [Nazareth], in a province of the Ardan [Jordan], and that for this reason he is called Nassâri; Allah, however, is most wise!

RECORD OF THE ELEVATION OF THE LORD I'SA—U. W. B., ETC.—FROM THE GIBBET OF THE JEWS TO HEAVEN BY THE COMMAND OF THE BENIGN GOD.

Some authors deserving of confidence have asserted that during the time of the mission of I'sa there was an oppressive, obdurate, tyrannical, and Fara'ûn-like governor ruling the children of Esrâil. I'sa had been commanded to invite him to profess Islâm and monotheism, but when he entered his rebellious and sinful assembly, preached to him, exhorted and informed him of the promises and threats in store for him, that flagitious and impure individual refused to accept the word of Allah, and conceived the design to murder his lordship the prophet. I'sa—u. w. b., etc.—however, selected the corner of solitude and concealment, whereon the Almighty sent him the following revelation: 'Verily I will cause thee to die, and I will take thee up unto Me.'[201] His lordship then said to the apostles, whose names are Yahia, Shima'ûn, Yûqna, Marbûs, Fattrus, Nakhas, Ya'qûb, Andrahas, Fibos, Bassrus, and Sarhus.[202] 'The captivity of the shepherd, and the dispersion of the

[201] Qurân, ch. iii 48. [202] See Luke, ch. vi. 14-16.

flock, are at hand'[203] They understood these words, and deplored their approaching separation from I'sa. The Messiah said: 'Now you are lamenting that we shall have to part, but in the end you will not act in conformity with the *Divine* command, and you will not ward off from me the insults of my foes.' They replied: 'As long as our souls are in our bodies, thy enemy shall not prevail over thee.' His lordship then accosted Shima'ûn, saying: 'Though thou art the prince and chief of these people, thou wilt, nevertheless, deny me thrice.'[204] When the appointed time had expired, the Jews entered the cave where I'sa was, by the direction of Yûda [Judas Iscariot], who was also an apostle—for according to some they were thirteen in number—and placed upon his head thorns, instead of a diadem,[205] and beating and insulting his lordship, they said: 'If thou art a prophet of God, ask Him to deliver thee from the power of affliction.' To Shima'ûn they said. 'If thou wilt not renounce I'sa, be assured of thy own death.' He complied with their wishes because he feared to endanger his life, and therefore they ceased to persecute him.

It is related after Ebn A'bbâs that when the blessed verse, 'Verily I will cause thee to die, and will take thee up to Me,' descended to I'sa, he informed his companions of it, and the apostles requested him to communicate to them his last will, which he did Then they asked. 'O prophet of Allah, will in future times any prophet more excellent than thyself appear?' He replied: 'Yes, an illiterate prophet, who will be more excellent than myself.' 'From what country will he be sent?' He replied: 'From the province of Tahâma.' They inquired: 'Of what tribe?' He rejoined: 'Of the tribe of Quraish.' And after enumerating the qualities of the lord of prophecy [*i e*, Muhammad], he continued. 'The U'lâma of the people will be in lieu of prophets [among you], and now my last injunction to you

[203] Matthew, ch. xxvi 31: 'I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad.'

[204] *Ibid.*, 34: 'Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny Me thrice.'

[205] *Ibid.*, ch. xxvii. 29. 'And when they had plaited a crown of thorns.'

is to order your descendants from generation to generation to convey my salutation to him [*i.e.*, to Muhammad].'

I'sa expressed one of his commandments as follows: 'Allah—w. n. b. e.—has ordered me to appoint Shima'ûn to be my successor over you.' After the apostles had accepted his successor, I'sa said: 'After me the angels will convey to you vases and urns full of light, and when these lights have found their way into your internal parts, each of you will obtain the knowledge of the language of the nation to which he is to go on a mission.' After he had completed his injunctions, those who opposed his religion succeeded in getting hold of his person, under the guidance of some who followed his law, but had apostatized therefrom afterwards.

All historians agree that on the said occasion Mariam was still living, but with reference to his ascension a great difference of opinions prevails. Some assert that when his lordship was captured he was guarded during the remainder of the night, and that in the morning the king of the children of Esrâil, who was endowed with no other qualities except rebellion and sin, ordered a gibbet to be erected for the crucifixion of I'sa. At the foot of this [cross] crowds of wicked and obstreperous persons assembled on that occasion. The sun was eclipsed to such an extent that darkness and obscurity prevailed, so that vision became impossible, and the Most High—w. n b. e. —despatched angels, who rescued I'sa from his bonds, and bore that individual of exalted dignity to heaven, after having shackled Yûda in his stead. When the world became again illuminated [by the sun], Yûda appeared to the sight of the Jews in the semblance of I'sa, and they said: 'This sorcerer wished to escape from our hands by his magic, but was unable to do so. Now we must quickly slay him, lest he devise another stratagem.' Accordingly they proceeded to crucify Yûda, despite of his expostulations. He exclaimed: 'I am Yûda, and have pointed out to you I'sa, whom the angels bore to heaven, and shackled me in his place.' The people, however, did not believe these words, and suspended him by his throat.

He whose name be praised has said: 'They slew him not, neither crucified him, but he was represented [by one] in his likeness.'[206] Some assert that when the Jews had captured I'sa they imprisoned him in the cave [in which they had found him], and that during the night a cloud descended, whereon the roof of the cavern opened, and the cloud drew I'sa up to heaven. At sunrise the Jews despatched a man to the cave to bring out I'sa, whom he was unable to find, but was himself transmuted into the semblance of I'sa. When he came out, he said to the people: 'Though I searched much for I'sa, I could not find him.' They replied: 'Thou art I'sa, and wishest to escape from our hands by sorcery and magic.' Despite of his saying, 'I am the same man who has just now entered the cave by your command,' they would not listen to him, but hung him that very moment by his throat. After having waited a long time uselessly for the appearance of their companion, they entered the cave, but the more they sought, the less they were able to find him. They then asked themselves: 'If this crucified man be I'sa, then where is our friend? And if it be our friend, then where is I'sa?' Allah—w. n. b. e.—has said: 'Verily they were in doubt as to this [matter], and had no [sure] knowledge thereof, but followed only an [uncertain] opinion.'[207]

It is a tradition of other parties, that the Jews imprisoned I'sa in a house with eighteen persons, and that I'sa said to his friends: 'Who of you will assume my figure, and will as a reward for this act be received into paradise by Allah the most magnificent and glorious?' One of the apostles said: 'I shall assume thy shape!' He was accordingly transformed into the semblance of I'sa, whereon his lordship went to heaven. When it was morning, the Jews brought out these eighteen individuals from the house, and asked: 'Together with I'sa you were nineteen persons, what has become of one of you?' They replied: 'The nineteenth of us was I'sa, who went to heaven.' The Jews would not believe these words, and

[206] Qurân, ch. iv. 156. [207] Qurân, ch. iv., part of verse 156.

when they perceived the apostle Sarhus in the shape of I'sa, they were dubious as to which of them had disappeared, until at last they crucified Sarhus, under the impression that he was I'sa. The most magnificent of speakers has said: 'And verily they who disagreed concerning him.'[208] 'They did not really kill him, but Allah took him up unto Himself.'[209]

It is related in the *Ma'arif Hassibi* that three hours of the day had elapsed when I'sa was taken up [to heaven]. After some days he again came down, appointed his apostles to various affairs, and again went to heaven, where God—w. n. b. e.—caused him to die, again resuscitated him after the expiration of three hours from his decease, and made the face of his lordship resemble the face of angels.

Many trustworthy authorities inform us in their traditions that I'sa sojourns in the heavenly tabernacle, where the Almighty—w. n. b. e.—has divested him of his human nature, and has vouchsafed to him the temperament of angels, with whom his lordship will abide in that place, engaged in adoration to the end of all time, until his lordship the Mahdi[210]—u. w. b., etc.—arrives, when I'sa will, by the command of the lord of the inhabitants of the world, descend from heaven, and make his appearance in the mosque of the great city of Mekkah at a time when the people will be standing in lines to recite their morning prayers with the Mahdi—u. w. b, etc.—on which occasion a herald will exclaim: 'This man is I'sa the son of Mariam, who has come down from heaven.' Then the people will approach I'sa, and will rejoice at his descension, and the Mahdi will request him to become the Emâm of the people of Ahmed [*i.e.*, Muhammed],[211] but I'sa will say: 'Go thou forward; because this day we must follow thee.' The Mahdi will accordingly proceed to the altar, and the Moslems will perform their prayers under his guidance.

It is said that after his descent from the upper world,

[208] Qurân, ch. iv., part of verse 156 [209] *Ibid.* [210] See footnote 131
[211] Namely, to conduct the Divine service of the congregation that morning, as their leader or Emâm in their prayers.

I'sa will live forty years more, will marry, will beget children, will fight the enemies of the Muhammadans, and will exterminate all the nations following other religions. In his time the lion and the camel, the tiger and the cow, the wolf and the sheep, will live together [in peace],[212] and children will play with snakes. When he has departed to the eternal world, the Musalmâns will, after having prayed over his body, bury it in the sepulchre of A'aisha—u. w. b.. etc.—which is also the tomb of the lord of prophecy and of the two shekhs. May the blessing of Allah be upon our prophet, upon him, and upon all the prophets and [inspired] messengers, until the day of [the last] judgment!

RECORD OF THE SLAUGHTER OF THE CHILDREN OF ESRÂIL, AND OF THE DISPERSION OF THE APOSTLES TO CALL THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD [TO PROFESS THE RELIGION OF I'SA—JESUS].

After I'sa—u. w. b., etc.—had ascended to heaven, the Jews captured and persecuted his companions; but the King of Rûm, to whom also the Syrians paid allegiance, heard what had taken place, and despatched couriers to deliver the apostles from the grasp of affliction and to convey them to his country. The King of Rûm instituted inquiries about the Law of I'sa, professed his religion, and sent a large army, who massacred immense numbers of the children of Esrâil. According to several traditions, Shima'ûn-us-safa,[213] who was on account of his steadfastness in the religion also called Shima'ûn-us-sakra,[214] appointed, according to the injunction of I'sa, every one of the apostles to go on a mission to some nation. He sent one to Rûm, another to the Maghrab, some to the Hejâz, others to Barbary, and so on to the other countries. The angels arrived with vases full of light as I'sa had predicted,

[212] Isaiah, ch. lxv. 25: 'The wolf and the lamb shall feed together,' etc.

[213] Simon Pure.

[214] Simon the Rock, or Simon Petra.

and each apostle became acquainted with the tongue of the nation to which he had been sent.[215]

Wuhub Bin Muniah states that Shima'ûn sent Yahia and Tûmân to Antaqia [Antioch], the king of which city was notorious for arrogance and tyranny. When they took leave of Shima'ûn, he said to them: 'Be of good cheer, for I am not unmindful of your circumstances, and in case of need my help will reach you.' When Yahia and Tûmân arrived in Antaqia, they presented themselves at the king's palace, but obtained no admittance. At last, however, they succeeded in accosting him whilst on a hunting tour, on which occasion they preached to him and represented their mission; but as they had come forward at an improper place, the king was overpowered by anger and ordered each of them first to be scourged with a hundred stripes, and then to be thrown into prison. Shima'ûn having been informed by Divine revelation of what had taken place, hastened to Antaqia Allah—w. n. b. e.—has said: 'When We sent unto them two [of the said apostles]; but they charged them with imposture. Wherefore We strengthened [them] with a third.'[216] When Shima'ûn arrived in that country he associated with the courtiers of the king, was polite and affable towards them, so that great amity and intimacy ensued between Shima'ûn and the grandees, his good qualities and noble manners being spoken of with praise even in the king's assembly. At that time Shima'ûn intended one night to go into the prison to meet Yahia and Tûmân; but as the guards were extremely numerous, and the gaol very strong, he despaired of being able to see his friends. But the Lord and Opener of all gates ordered an angel to unlock the prison-door,[217] the gaoler was thrown into a heavy sleep, Shima'ûn entered the prison and reproved his friends as follows: 'Precipitation in any matter will entail repentance, and your case may be

[215] Acts, ch. ii. 2-4: 'And there appeared unto them cloven tongues,' etc.

[216] Qurân, ch. xxxvi 13.

[217] Acts, ch. v. 19: 'But the angel of the Lord by night opened the prison doors,' etc.

likened unto that of a woman who was barren, but to whom God—w. n. b. e.—vouchsafed a son in her old age. The woman then said to herself: "This infant will not grow by milk only; it will be best for me to give my darling bread and meat." Thus she fed her child before the proper time, surfeited it, and it died. I have come to devise a stratagem by which I may deliver you from prison.' Thus all three left the prison, the door of which was, by the command of God, returned to its previous state.

When the [good] report about Shima'ûn had penetrated to the court of the king, the latter summoned him to his presence, and after having convinced himself of his high education, good manners, and great intelligence, Shima'ûn was distinguished by admittance to the society of the king. One day the former said to the latter: 'I have heard that in the prison of your majesty there are two men who pretend that God—w. n. b. e.—had sent them on a mission, and that they have met your majesty; but I do not know to this day what they have said, and what your majesty has replied to them' The king replied: 'When I conversed with those two individuals, I was so influenced by anger that I did not understand what they said, but if thou art so inclined, we shall produce them both, that thou mayest institute inquiries about their intentions' Shima'ûn continued: 'My anxiety to see them and to hear their conversation is not very great, but I shall enter into a disputation and discussion with the prisoners to please your majesty.' Accordingly the king ordered Yahia and Tûmân to be produced from the gaol, whereon Shima'ûn addressed them as follows: 'Who has sent you?' They replied: 'He who is omnipotent.' Shima'ûn said. 'You must inform me of His power and magnificence.' Yahia and Tûmân rejoined. 'His station is higher, and His degree more exalted, than the tongue is able to explain or describe. We shall, however, condense His description in two sentences: "Allah doeth as He listeth, and judgeth as He willeth."' Shima'ûn continued. 'If you are able to establish the truth of your assertion, I shall intercede for

you with the king, to withhold the hand of injury from you, or else he will send you back to prison, and torture you with various chastisements.' Yahia and Tûmân replied: 'We shall comply with any requirements, tending to the manifestation of the greatness of the Omnipotent Nourisher of the inhabitants of the world.' Shima'ûn said: 'I have seen a boy who has no cavities for the eyes. If you are by your prayers able to cause him to see, I shall intercede for you.' They assented, and the child having been produced, Yahia with Tûmân prayed outwardly, whilst Shima'ûn did so mentally for the boy. After they had finished their devotions and supplications, they took some earth, made mud of it, forming of the latter two little balls like filbert nuts; they also drew two black lines in the place of the eyes, and placed the two bullets upon them, whereon these two bits of mud were transmuted into eyes. The king was so amazed that he turned to Shima'ûn and said: 'I am of opinion that these two men are sorcerers.' Shima'ûn replied: 'Acts such as these cannot be performed by magic, but I shall ask for another miracle, and if they are able to accomplish it, no doubt will remain that Yahia and Tûmân are of the righteous.' Then Shima'ûn said to them: 'Pray that a person buried since seven days be resuscitated to life, then we shall place faith in your pretensions and believe in God.' They agreed, and according to tradition the son of one of the servants of the king, surnamed Habib the carpenter, was brought out of his grave after having being buried seven days. When the corpse was brought into the assembly, Yahia and Tûmân prayed openly, and Shima'ûn secretly, to the Benign Sovereign for the resuscitation of the child, and that very moment the shroud upon the corpse burst, the son of Habib began to move, and a little afterwards sat up. The king asked him about his state, and the boy replied: 'After I had died, the angels examined my case, found me to be an idolater, dragged me every day to another valley of fire, and inflicted new torments upon me, which I had not felt in any previous valley. But this day, before Allah—w. n. b. e.—

had granted me the favour of [renewed] life, and before I arrived in this place, I heard the words, "Look upwards"; I obeyed and beheld a youth, who had grasped a leg of the throne [of God] with his hands, and also these three men [now present], one of whom was old, the second middle-aged, and the third young, namely, Shima'ûn, Yahia, and Tûmân, who interceded [for me]. Then the allocution reached me: "This individual who is near My throne has with reference to [the prayers of] his three companions besought Me, and interceded for thee, and has delivered thee from hell." O king! this is my case, which I have explained without adding anything to, or taking anything from it.'

According to traditions, the king and great numbers of the people then made profession of the religion [of Jesus], but the remainder of the population intended to kill Yahia and Tûmân. Habib the carpenter said on that occasion: 'O my people, follow the messengers [of Allah]; follow Him who demandeth not any reward from you, for these are rightly directed.'[218] The infidels asked whether he believed them, and he said. 'What reason have I that I should not worship Him who hath created me?'[219] When therefore the flagitious unbelievers became convinced that Habib had professed the religion, they slew him in the cruellest way, but the Most High—w. n b e.—conveyed him to the gardens of paradise, whereon he said: 'O that my people knew how merciful He hath been unto me! For He hath highly honoured me.'[220] Hasan Bossri says that this man who had advised his people whilst alive, and [thus] kindly remembered them after he had died, was Habib the carpenter.

It is related that after the murder of Habib, Shima'ûn received the Divine revelation that all the monotheists were to leave the city on account of the impending destruction of the idolaters. Shima'ûn accordingly departed in the night from Antaqia [Antioch] with the Musalmâns,

[218] Qurân, ch. xxxvi. 20. [219] *Ibid.*, 21.
[220] Qurân, ch. xxxvi. 26.

and when the dawn broke Jebrâil arrived at the gate of the city, and uttered a shout, in consequence whereof all the evil-doers were translated to the abode of perdition. He whose magnificence be glorified has said: 'And we sent not down against this people, after they had [slain] him, an army from heaven, nor [the other instruments of destruction], which we sent down [on unbelievers in former days]; there was only one cry [of Gabriel from heaven], and behold they [became] utterly extinct.'[221]

RECORD OF HANTALAH THE RIGHTEOUS, AND SEDUCTION OF THE PEOPLE OF I'SA BY YÛNAS THE JEW.

It is related that after the ascension of I'sa, Hantalah the righteous was commanded to invite [to the Faith] the inhabitants of Hadhûra, which is a town in Yaman. Some of the people of that locality believed, but others accused him of falsehood, until at last the idolaters slew Hantalah; and his companions, who fought against the unbelievers, were put to flight. After that the Sole Conqueror raised up one of the kings of Bâbel to avenge the murder of Hantalah. This king assembled a numerous army and marched towards Hadhûra; the unbelievers likewise made preparations for war, but were routed after much struggling. Whilst fleeing from their country they were overtaken by angels, who shouted to them: 'Perchance you would be willing to return to what you left, or to your abodes? Or would you ask about the murder of your prophet?' Then they thought of their iniquity, and said: 'Woe to us; we have been unrighteous!' Nor did they cease to lament until the angels annihilated them.

Ebn A'bbâs—may Allah reward him—relates that the people of I'sa remained steadfast in the Law eighty years after his ascension, but that then Yûnas the Jew led them astray and precipitated them into the abyss of infidelity and aberration, which took place as follows: Yûnas arrived in the garb of an ascetic and monk in the community of the

[221] Qurân, ch. xxxvi., 27, 28.

Christians, and having remained four months in the house of one of them without showing his unhallowed countenance to anyone, the Christians began to place great faith in Yûnas, on account of his surprising piety. After the expiration of the just-mentioned time he said to the Christians: 'Bring me those of your U'lâma in whose words you place the greatest confidence, that I may communicate a Divine mystery to each of them separately.' Accordingly the Christians brought Nastûr, Ya'qûb, and Malak to Yûnas, who took one of the three apart, and said: 'I am an apostle of the Messiah unto the people, to comfort them concerning his messages.' He also said: 'Thou knowest that I'sa resuscitated a dead man, and had worked also other miracles.' The learned man replied 'Yes.' Yûnas then asked· 'Can anyone besides the Most High do such acts?' He replied: 'No.' Yûnas continued 'Be therefore aware that I'sa is the [Omnipotent] Cherisher of mankind, who, having come down from heaven, fulfilled his intention on earth, and has again returned to heaven' He then took the second U'lâma aside, and spoke to him as follows: 'It is evident to thee that the lord I'sa had performed certain acts, the like of which no one but the Almighty Creator can do?' Receiving an affirmative reply, Yûnas continued: 'Thou knowest that the Lord of Glory is exempted from motion?' He replied· 'Yes.' Yûnas said: 'Thou must believe that I'sa is the son of God, whom He sent down upon earth, and again took up to heaven.' Having likewise taken the third scholar apart, Yûnas said to him: 'He is the God of the earth, who, when the people wanted to slay him, concealed himself, but will soon come back to the people. I'sa has sent me to convey this message to you.' After having promulged similar nonsense, he retired to his cell, and locked the door; but having that very night committed suicide, he departed to hell. In the morning the Christians asked their three scholars what Yûnas had told them, but each of them narrated a story contradicting that of the others. Hereon the people determined to hear the statement from Yûnas himself, but when

they entered his cell they found him dead. After that the Christians divided themselves into three sects, each adopting the tenets of one of the above-mentioned U'lâma, and Allah the Most High has said: 'Yet the sectaries differ among themselves,' etc.[222] Let it not remain concealed, that what has been narrated concerning the division of Christians is the tradition of historians, because the allegations of rhetoricians are contradictory, and the reader is referred to the *Mellal wa Nakhal* of Muhammad Sharastani,[223] and to other works.

RECORD OF THE COMPANIONS OF THE CAVE.

Allah—w. n. b. e.—has said: 'Dost thou consider that the companions of the cave and Al Rakim were [one] of Our signs, [and] a [great] miracle?'[224] It is the opinion of some historians that the companions of the cave had entered it before the mission of I'sa, and that they awoke after his ascension to heaven. Others believe that all their adventures took place after his ascent. There is also a difference of opinion about their going to the cave, their circumstances, and their number. Narrators of traditions have stated that the companions of the cave belonged to Ephesus, a town in Greece, and their professing Islâm is by some explained as follows: When Jalinus [Galen] the physician, who dwelt in that country, had heard that I'sa healed persons blind from birth, and lepers, he said: 'Such acts are performed by skilful physicians also.' Hearing that I'sa also resuscitated the dead, Jalinus said: 'Deeds of this kind are above the power of men, and if I'sa revives

[222] Qurân, ch. xix. 38

[223] The Arabic edition of this work by Curêton is well known, and it has also been translated into German by Haarbrucker, 2 vols., 8vo, Halle, 1850, under the title of 'Religionspartheion und Philosophen-Schulen.'

[224] Qurân, ch xviii. 8 These were certain Christian youths of good family in Ephesus, who, to avoid the persecution of the Emperor Decius [A.D. 249-251], called Deqianus by the Arabs, hid themselves in a cave, where they slept for many years. In Christian traditions the companions of the cave are known by the name of 'the Seven Sleepers.' Commentators are at variance about the expression 'Al Rakim.'

dead persons his claims to prophecy must be considered to be true.' After these rumours had spread, Jalinus proceeded by way of the sea to meet the lord I'sa and to wait upon him. During the voyage, however, he was attacked with colic, and felt the agonies of death. On that occasion his pupils spoke to him as follows: 'Allah be praised! By the aid of thy blessed inspirations all diseases are healed. What secret is it that thou art now unable to cure thyself?' Jalinus replied: 'I shall cure myself with what I know.' Accordingly he ordered an earthen vessel full of water to be produced, into which he threw the remedy he had prepared against his colic, but when he again called for the vessel after an hour had expired, it was found to have burst and the liquid congealed therein, so that it could by no means be made to flow. Jalinus then said: 'It is the nature of water to freeze, but there is no remedy against a mortal disease, destiny cannot be understood, fate cannot be contended against.' Jalinus ordered his disciples on his deathbed to go after his demise and burial to I'sa, and to acknowledge him as a prophet They complied, paid a visit to I'sa, were ennobled by the happiness of professing Islâm and monotheism. Then they returned to their country, informed the people of the last injunctions of Jalinus, whereon the Ephesians repented of their past lives, which they had spent in error, and all of them professed the Faith.

In some legends it is related that the companions of the cave, with all the inhabitants of Ephesus, were converted by one of the apostles sent to them by Shima'ûn-us-safa. At that time there reigned a tyrannical king, Deqianus by name, who had arrived from Rûm, or the country of Bâbel. The inhabitants of every country under his sway were compelled either to worship idols or to suffer the punishment of death. When he vanquished the region of Ephesus, where the companions of the cave lived, he invited the people to follow his religion. Some obeyed him, and some rebelled; but the professors of monotheism fled and concealed themselves in all directions. The wicked persecuted

the righteous, hunted them, and brought them to Deqianus, who ordered their limbs to be cut off.

Seven individuals, the sons of grandees of that country, were sitting in their houses with locked doors, engaged in worshipping the Omnipotent Nourisher of mankind, and beseeching Him to remove the tyranny of Deqianus. On a festival set apart by the oppressor for the adoration of his futile idol, he ordered that any person not making his appearance at the altar to sacrifice, or to worship the idol, should be cut to pieces. He likewise summoned the above-mentioned seven individuals to his presence, and asked. 'What is your reason for resisting a command which must be obeyed, and for abstaining to sacrifice and to worship the idol?' Mithana, who was at that time their chief, replied: 'O king, thou invitest us to worship a thing made with hands It can neither hear nor see, we can expect from it neither profit nor harm, indeed, such a block is very far from being omnipotent. How could we prostrate ourselves before it? Leave off these insinuations, for we can never commit such a deed!' Deqianus said 'If you will not adore my deity, then tell me what you are worshipping.' They continued 'Our Lord is the Lord of heaven and earth, we will by no means call on any god besides Him.[225] He is our Lord, and the Lord of all mankind.' When the tyrant heard these words, he threw away the reins of self-restraint from his hands and ordered them to be slain. Mithana perceived the signs of fear and terror on his friends, and exclaimed 'O king, entrust us to the keeping of thy officials, and respite us this night. If we profess thy religion to-morrow, pardon us, or else deal with us as thou pleasest' Deqianus agreed to this proposal, and imprisoned the professors of monotheism, but they watched their opportunity, and escaped during the night.

Another tradition is that, when the turn of Deqianus came to rule in Ephesus, he himself claimed to be the Deity, and invited the people to worship him. The com-

[225] Qurân, ch. xviii. 13.

panions of the cave, who were the sons of nobles and grandees, had been admitted into his service and company; but after performing their duties, they used to assemble together in one house. At that time Deqianus heard of one of his enemies having arrived with an army, and overrunning the plains and mountains, with the intention of wresting the country from him. The tyrant became melancholy and depressed at this news, and consulted his ministers with his councillors about the means of repelling the attack When the just-mentioned youths became aware of the apprehensions of Deqianus, they knew that he was like other created beings, subject to the decrees of fate; whereon they determined to worship only that God besides whom there is no other, and said to each other· 'The circumstances are favourable; we must abandon this mendacious pretender, leave this town, and find a retreat where no one knows us' When they were about to depart, they took as much baggage with them as they were able conveniently to carry, departed secretly in the night, and travelled with great fear along a way unfrequented by anyone. During that journey they met a shepherd who was skilled in the art of physiognomies, and asked them as follows: 'Who are you, for I perceive the marks of fear and apprehension on your brows?' They rejoined· 'What need hast thou to examine us? Rather give us some food, if thou art able' The shepherd then brought some milk, and after flattering them a great deal, inquired: 'Inform me of your circumstances, because love for you has taken possession of my heart, and it is my intention to serve you during the rest of my life.' Accordingly they made the shepherd swear an oath not to reveal anything he might hear. Then they explained to him their case, and the shepherd, having acknowledged the unity of God, returned the sheep to their owners, and accompanied with his dog, named Qattmir, the above-mentioned youths. One of the latter, being apprehensive that possibly the voice of the dog might betray them, threw, with the approbation of his companions, a stone at him to drive him away, whereon

Qattmir burst out in the following words: 'It is wonderful that you should throw a stone at me, whereas I have known the Nourisher of the world before you.' Hereon the companions repented of their deed and allowed Qattmir to follow them. Then all entered under the guidance of the shepherd the cave called Rakim, intending to leave it again as soon as a favourable opportunity presented itself.

There is a discrepancy among chroniclers concerning the companions after they had entered the cave, some being of opinion that they went into it with tho intention of remaining, whilst others allege that they felt comforted, and that they had sent Tamlikha, who was the youngest and handsomest, to bring food, drink, and everything needful, and that he had, after disguising himself, girded up the loins of service to his friends.

When Deqianus had finished the war against his opponents, and had returned to his capital, he reproved the nobles of the country and the fathers of the companions, ordering them to produce their sons. They, however, excused themselves, saying: 'We are innocent of this matter, for they have, without our knowledge, taken large sums of money and have absconded.' Accordingly Deqianus allowed them to depart, and after having heard that the fugitives had gone in the direction of the cave Al Rakim, he caused it to be proclaimed in the city that the king is proceeding to such and such a place, and that no one is to refuse to accompany him. On this occasion Tamlikha had sorrowfully and in disguise entered the city; but when he heard this proclamation he returned hastily, and informed his friends of what was going on, whereon those monotheists exclaimed with the greatest indignation: 'Allah is our surety, and the best advocate!' And when they had completed their meal, God—whose name be blessed and exalted—sent a deep sleep upon them. Allah the Most High has said: 'Wherefore We struck their ears [with deafness, so that they slept without disturbance] in the cave for a [great] number of years.'[226] The Most

[226] Qurân, ch. xviii. 10.

Glorious and High also said: 'Their dog stretched forth his forelegs in the mouth of the cave.'[227] When Deqianus had come out of the city, and arrived at the opening of the cave, Mârnus, his treasurer—who had concealed his secrèt, and had not revealed his faith to the tyrant—knew that the youths had fallen asleep. Having shouted much, without succeeding in awakening them, he perceived that sleep had overcome them as a protection from the wrath of Deqianus.

Hemistich: Blessed is the sleep which is better than wakefulness.'

Mârnus then came out from the cave, and declared that the refractory fellows had died of hunger in this desolate place, and had surrendered the deposit of life to the grasper of souls, and that the king might return if convenient. Deqianus, being pleased with this news, then ordered the entrance to the cave to be obstructed, whereon the treasurer, having been vouchsafed a revelation that this event was one of the signs of Divine power, which would one day become evident to His servants, ordered a tablet of lead to be inscribed with the names and titles of the companions, together with the date [of the day and year], to be inserted into the aperture of the gate before it was shut up.

After Deqianus had for some time continued to reign, he hastened to the infernal regions. He was, according to the inconstant ways of this world, succeeded by a series of kings, who sat one after the other on the throne of dominion, until the turn of sovereignty reached a righteous and pious king who believed in the prophetship of I'sa. Instead of idol-temples he built churches and convents, and during his reign the companions of the cave, whose members and limbs the Most High had kept from being separated, again returned to a state of wakefulness.

In short, during three hundred and nine years of their sleep in the cave, the incomparable Lord sent Jebrâil every year twice, to translate the companions of the cave from

[227] Qurân, ch. xviii. 17.

the winter to the summer dormitory, and so turn them from one side to the other, lest they should be attacked by [putrefaction from] the earth. Allah the Most High has said: 'They remained in the cave three hundred years and nine years over.'[228] He whose name be glorified has also said: 'We caused them to turn themselves to the right hand and to the left.'[229] The Beneficent Lord and Giver so kept their eyes open, that no injury could affect them. He whose name be glorified has said: 'Thou wouldst have judged them to be awake while they were sleeping.'[230]

It is related that a short time before the companions awoke a shepherd had opened the door of the cave to shelter his flock, but that he fled in dismay at the awful aspect of the locality. The Sempiternal Will having decided that the sleepers should recover their senses, they awoke from their heavy sleep, and said to each other: 'Wonder how long we have been sleeping?' 'They answered, We have tarried a day,'[231] but when they beheld the sun they said, 'Or part of a day.'[232] After they had prostrated themselves, and adored the Creator, they told Tamlikha to go to the city and to bring food, but to be very careful in going and in returning. When Tamlikha reached the entrance [of the cave], he beheld marks of its having been obstructed and again opened, and wondered how all this [work] could have been done in one day. On approaching the city, he perceived none of the marks on the road which he had noticed when he first came and went, and was still more astonished. Having arrived close to Ephesus, he beheld on the site of an idol-temple a church with the figure of I'sa painted on its ceiling and walls. He then exclaimed: 'Praise be to God! During one night and day they have rased the idol-temple, and have erected the house of the Self-existent in lieu thereof!' When he reached the gate of the town, he perceived that the whole locality had been changed; and no one knew

[228] Qurân, ch. xviii. 24. [229] *Ibid*, 17. [230] *Ibid.*, 17.
[231] *Ibid.*, 18. [232] *Ibid.*, 18.

him in Ephesus. He also saw the people wearing other costumes, and, wondering at the spectacle, exclaimed:

Hemistich: O Lord! do I see this in my sleep or am I awake?

He perceived two men, one of whom was swearing by the Messiah and the other by God. From these he asked the way to a baker's shop, after finding which he offered a dirhem of Deqianus for a loaf of bread. When the baker saw a large dirhem, bearing the marks of antiquity, he asked Tamlikha: 'Where hast thou found a treasure?' The latter replied: 'I have found no treasure.' The baker, however, continued his inquiries till a crowd was attracted by their vociferations, and conveyed Tamlikha to the Qâdhi Nastus, who, on being apprised of what had taken place, said: Q. Do not be afraid, but show us the treasure.—T. I am free from this imputation. Q. Then whence hast thou brought this dirhem?—T. I took it from my father's house. Q. Who is thy father?—T. So-and-so, the son of So-and-so. Q. We know neither the name nor the genealogy of this man.

Tamlikha then called various inhabitants who he believed had known his father, to bear witness, but all present asserted that they possessed no knowledge of such a man, and accused him of wishing by means of this trick to appropriate the treasure to himself. The Qâdhi, who was undecided what to do, sent Tamlikha to the king, but whilst on the road the former began to plead for mercy, saying: 'As soon as Deqianus sees me, he will kill me' Then the people asked him who Deqianus was. He replied: 'The governor of this town' They rejoined: 'Thou must forsooth be mad, because many years have elapsed since he is occupying high dignity in hell.' When he heard this, the amazement of Tamlikha increased even more; and on being conveyed to the foot of the throne, he beheld a youth sitting thereon, engaged in praising God the most Magnificent and Glorious, and mentioning the Messiah—to whom greeting. Tamlikha looked inquisitively upon the throne, and the king asked him: 'Who

art thou, and where is thy dwelling?' He replied: 'My name is this, and I am the son of so-and-so. I am one of the principal inhabitants of the city; my house is situated in such and such a quarter, in such and such a street, where also my father dwells.' None, however, of the persons present remembered any of the names mentioned by Tamlikha. Then the king exclaimed: 'Thou art either a fool or a cheat, who desirest by these tricks to extricate thyself from our grasp. Now, tell the truth.' Accordingly Tamlikha narrated in detail his story, and that of his friends, whereat all who heard it were astonished. For the purpose of removing all doubts, the king assembled the Christian U'lâma, and explained this weighty matter to them. The priests said: 'There is a tradition of the Messiah—to whom be greeting—that in the beginning of the reign of Deqianus such rebels had concealed themselves, and that they will at present make their appearance.' After having received this information, the king asked Tamlikha: 'Where are thy friends?' He replied: 'They are in the cave Rakim.' The king with his army then followed Tamlikha, and arrived near the cave, which the latter entered first, by the permission of the king, to inform his friends of the professors of Islâm, and of what he had seen, whereon they prostrated themselves in adoration. The king entered the cavern with his followers, and beheld the tablet, whereon the names and circumstances of the companions of the cave had been inscribed at the request of Mârnus, the treasurer of Deqianus. The king then approached this company, and each having prayed and raised his head from adoration, the pious king kissed the hands and feet of every one, and was greatly edified. The table servants having produced a copious repast, his majesty dined with the companions, after which they praised the Beneficent Sovereign, and besought him to leave them to themselves. The king complied with their request, whereon the companions of the cave again fell back into their former state on their couches; A'zrayil[233]

[233] Name of the angel of death.

was ordered to grasp their souls, and the king, having got them all shrouded, put each of them into a golden coffin. Afterwards his majesty heard in a dream the companions of the cave saying to him: 'O king, take us out from thy clothes and shrouds, and put us into the shrouds of paradise.' Accordingly the king ordered them to be taken out from the biers and shrouds, and to be dressed in their former clothes. He also built a church at the entrance of the cave, and ordered the day on which he had met the companions of the cave to become a great festival, at which all the people annually assembled in great numbers near the cave.

It is necessary to know that the fact of this tradition is based on the statements of historians, who imagine that the concealment of the companions of the cave had taken place before the mission of I'sa—to whom salutation. Another statement is, that the companions of the cave had entered it before the mission of I'sa—t. w. s.—the son of Mariam. They said: 'O Lord, grant us mercy from before Thee, and dispose our business for us to a right [issue].'[234] Then they ate some of their provisions, and laid down their heads, and God struck their ears with deafness, so that they slept three hundred and nine years. After the expiration of that time they sent Tamlikha to the town, where he was suspected of having found a treasure, was led before the king, and related his case. His majesty thereon called for some learned men whom he examined on this subject. The priests stated that the case of the companions of the cave had been alluded to in the Gospel, in the words of I'sa: 'After my ascension God will revive their memory, that they may bear witness to the truth of my prophecy.' When the king had heard this tradition from the priests, he became anxious for an interview with the companions of the cave, and sent Tamlikha to inform them of the coming of the professors of Islâm. When Tamlikha had reached his companions, and informed them that the king was coming, they were much dismayed, because they

[234] Qurân, ch. xviii. 9.

thought he was Deqianus, but he pacified them, saying: 'After we had entered the cave, a prophet was sent, whose name is I'sa, the son of Mariam. Centuries have elapsed since he appeared, and the king, together with the inhabitants of this town, who are coming here, believe in him.' Accordingly they also believed in I'sa, and prayed to return to their former state. When, therefore, the king arrived, he saw them all sleeping; and after he had wondered at the spectacle he returned, and caused the aperture of the cave to be obstructed.

There is a tradition of Ebn A'bbâs, that the above narrative is the most correct; but Muhammad Ebn Esahâq states that when some time had elapsed after the death of Deqianus, and the turn to reign of a just and Musalmân king had come, a difference of opinion had arisen at Ephesus, because some persons utterly denied the resurrection, whilst others only denied that of the body, restricting it to the soul. The monotheists were of opinion that the souls will be resuscitated together with the bodies. The king, however, fearing that the adherents of falsehood would prevail over those of the truth, entered a hermitage, *dressed himself in sackcloth*, and having excluded soldiers as well as civilians from his company, prayed with humility and tears that God—w. n. b. e.—would make this matter plain, both to the monotheists and to the infidels.

The petition of this righteous sovereign having been responded to, it occurred to one of the inhabitants of Ephesus that it would be proper to destroy the door of the cave, and to make it a stable for his sheep. He accordingly hired a man to displace the bricks, but the Lord of Glory so struck the employer and the labourer with fear, that they had not the boldness even to look in that direction, and therefore still less to lodge the sheep in the cave. It is also related that some heroes of the said period had approached the cave, but again fled in terror. When, however, the time of the mission of the seven companions had arrived, they received new life, rose from their [sleeping] places, and imagined that they had been sleeping in the usual way.

When they had thus awoke, they sent Tamlikha to the headman and the Qâdhi, as has been related above. In the same tradition it is, however, narrated that an interview took place between Tamlikha and the Qâdhi. When the headman and the latter were apprised of the case, they sallied forth with a great multitude to the cave, the door to which they opened, and beheld a tablet, containing the whole statement about the companions of the cave; after reading which the Musalmâns greatly rejoiced at this manifestation of the Divine power, and at this sign of omnipotence. The officials of the king met the companions of the cave, examined them about their case, and found it to agree with the record on the tablet. Thereon they sent a message to the king, with the request to repair immediately to the spot, and to witness one of the miracles of God as a convincing proof of the truth of the resurrection. Accordingly his majesty set out on the wings of celerity and reached that blessed locality. When his exalted glances alighted on the companions of the cave, he prostrated himself in adoration to the Almighty and wept. On that occasion it became evident to kings, as well as to beggars, to the rich and to the poor, that the resurrection of the body, as foretold by prophets, is a truth. After that the companions of the cave returned by Divine inspiration to their sleeping-place, and, according to the well-known tradition, surrendered their spirits to their Maker. The king had shrouds and coffins made for them of pure brocade and of gold; but after the companions had in a dream spoken to him as follows, 'O king, we have been created of earth, and we request thee to restore us to the earth,' his majesty ordered their bodies to be taken out from their coffins, and to be buried in the bowels of the earth. After that, He who is aware of all that is open or concealed removed those blessed individuals from the sight of men. It is related that Moa'viah, the son of Abu Sofiân, had in one of his campaigns arrived in that country, and had been informed that a certain mountain pointed out to him contained the cave of the companions. This he

wished to see, but Ebn A'bbâs—may Allah reward him—said to him: 'You will never experience that happiness, because the Lord had said to a greater man than you are, "If thou wert to behold them, thou wouldst turn away from them, fleeing and terrified.'"[236] Moa'viah replied: 'If I cannot see the companions of the cave, I may at least have the honour to behold their cavern.'

Some have related that the Creator of life and death will, before the day of the resurrection at the [second] advent of I'sa—t. w. s.—revive the companions of the cave for a season, when they will associate with the Messiah, and will then again partake of the goblet of annihilation from the hand of the cupbearer of destiny. It is hoped the intelligent reader will discriminate between what the author and what Muhammad Bin Jarir-ut-Tabari and other historians have written on this subject, and that he will, on perceiving the discrepancy of the narratives, attribute it to the contradictory traditions.

Record of Barssissa the Hermit.

Ebn A'bbâs—m A. r. h—says that after the ascension of I'sa, and before the mission of Muhammud—bl., etc.—there was among the children of Esrâil a hermit called Barssissa, who had been during seventy years engaged in the worship of the Omnipotent and Glorious [Creator], without committing sin. This piety grieved Satan—put to flight with stones—so much, that he assembled his friends, and said: 'I am displeased with the assiduous prayerfulness of this man, and I want one of you to put my mind at ease on this subject.' Hereon an accursed fellow of the name of Abiadh, who considered himself skilled in tempting prophets, said: 'I shall take this service upon myself.' After that Abiadh made his appearance at the door of the hermitage of Barssissa in the guise of a monk; but as the one was engaged in prayers, the other took no notice of him. It is said that this pious man ceased his devotions only

[236] This passage does not occur anywhere in the Qurân.

every eighteen days, for the purpose of breaking the fast; others, however, state that he remained without food even for a longer time. Accordingly Abiadh remained at the door of the cell, engaging in prayers, and when Barssissa had terminated his own, he cast a glance at him, so that he beheld a man dressed as a monk and praying. When Abiadh had finished his devotions, Barssissa said: 'When thou hadst addressed me, thou hast attracted my attention. Tell me now what thou wantest.' Abiadh said: 'My intention is to engage with thee in the worship of the Most High and Glorious, and to implore thee to pray for me on a favourable occasion.' Barssissa replied: 'My attention is directed to the courts of self-existence, and after completing my ordinary, as well as my extraordinary, devotions, I pray for all monotheists. If thou art a believer, my prayers with reference to thee will meet with response, and the effects thereof will redound upon thee.'

After these words the hermit again began to pray, and whenever he cast a glance at Abiadh, he beheld him engaged in the same occupation at the door of the cell. When forty days had elapsed in this manner, Barssissa again asked: 'What is thy wish?' Abiadh replied: 'I want to enter this hermitage and to profit by thy company' Having obtained admittance to the cell, he engaged in prayers during a whole year with the hermit, who was pleased with his diligence in prayer, and conceived a favourable opinion of him, but after the expiration of the said time, Abiadh said to Barssissa: 'I have a friend whose steadiness in prayer is greater than thine, and I wish to spend the remainder of my life in his society.' The hermit was loath to part with Abiadh, but that accursed fellow said at the time of leave-taking: 'O Barssissa, I know a name of the Divine names, that whenever thou callest on the Lord—w. n. b. e.—by that appellation, He will bestow health on sick persons. If thou art willing, I shall impart it to thee.'

Abiadh, having beguiled the hermit, gave him the name, departed from the cell, met Eblis, and said: 'I have

thrown a hermit of seventy years into the vale of aberration.' After that he squeezed the throat of a boy who dwelt near the cell of the hermit, and made his appearance in the guise of a physician before the parents of the boy, saying: 'Your son has a fit of lunacy, and with your permission I shall cure him.' He then treated him a few days, and said: 'This darling of yours has fallen into the clutches of a devil, whose name is Haffah, but I am able to exorcise him; Barssissa, however, is in possession of the ineffable name, by the blessing whereof the God of the denizens of the world vouchsafes to grant recovery and health to sick persons.' Accordingly the father and mother of the boy sped to the hermitage of Barssissa and proffered their request. The pious man then prayed, Abiadh abstained from intermeddling, and the youth was cured. In this manner Abiadh squeezed the throats of several persons in that district, and sent them to the hermit to be cured. When the latter began his devotions, Abiadh ceased to interfere, and the people were restored to health. In course of time the rumour of the hermit's ability to cure diseases spread all over the country, and Abiadh played the same trick, also on the daughter of the king of the children of Esrâil, who was the handsomest woman of that period. He also made his appearance in the guise of a physician near the brothers of the said lady, requested permission to cure her, treated her for a few days, but then stated his inability to deliver her from a female demon who had taken possession of her, and recommended Barssissa to the royal princes, who were the brothers of the lady, as follows: 'The best thing for you to do is to spend a few days in the cell of the hermit until complete recovery ensues; but in case Barssissa should be unwilling to give you permission to remain, you may erect a house near the place for the lady, and entrust her to his care.' The princes complied, and as their request to leave their sister with Barssissa did not meet with his approval, they built a house near the hermitage, in which they installed her, and said to the pious man: 'O thou who givest health

to the Infirm, our hope is that, by leaving this sick lady for a few days in this place, thy prayers will in a short time be crowned with success in obtaining her recovery from the Most High, and that she will be liberated from the demon.' The brothers departed, but visited their sister from time to time, and the hermit began his supplications for her. Abiadh, however, squeezed the throat of the lady several times, and one day afflicted her with a fit of lunacy, during which she exposed some portions of her body in an indecent manner, so that when the hermit arrived at her bedside he beheld charms the like of which had never enticed his imagination, so that the following verses of Sa'di became applicable to him:

Verses: Such a beauty! tempting hermits,
An angelic face, brilliant like a peacock;
After beholding which, it is impossible
For an ascetic to retain his equanimity.

When the hermit became confused, Satan whispered to him: 'Where is greater secrecy than here? Make use of the opportunity! Do not delay your enjoyment to the morrow,' and continued his instigations till the pious man succumbed, and the consequence was that the lady became pregnant. When the signs of the changed condition of the princess commenced to appear, Abiadh presented himself at the hermitage and said: 'The best thing for thee is to kill and to bury the girl, whereon thou mayest again turn to God and repent of thy wicked act!' Barssissa succumbed also to this suggestion of Satan, murdered the unfortunate lady, and interred her at the foot of a mountain; the Evil One, however, took hold of the skirts of the robe of the corpse, and left them sticking outside the grave. Barssissa continued to abide in his cell; but when the brothers of the lady arrived to pay her a visit as usual they were unable to find her, and when they asked the hermit about her he palmed off some suggestions of the devil upon them, whereon they returned to their home in much sorrow and distress. Abiadh, however, followed them, and said: 'The words of Barssissa are false. He has

seduced your sister, and, fearing the discovery of his wickedness, has murdered her. She is buried on a spot known to me, where a piece of her dress is sticking out of the grave, which I shall point out to you.' Hereon all went to the place; the lady's corpse was disinterred, the hermit's cell rased to the ground, and its possessor tortured until he made a full confession of his crime. This news having been conveyed to the father of the lady, he ordered Barssissa to be crucified. When the latter stood at the foot of the cross, Abiadh made his appearance and said: 'O Barssissa! knowest thou me?' He replied: 'No!' Abiadh continued: 'I am the man who has taught thee the ineffable name by which thy prayers were heard. After that, however, thou hast fallen into wicked ways, and hast dishonoured not only thyself, but the whole fraternity of monks. Thus thou hast fallen into this calamity, but if thou obeyest me in one thing I shall save thee therefrom.' Barssissa asked: 'What is it?' The Satan continued: 'Worship me, and I shall extricate thee from this whirlpool, as I would take out one hair from a mass of leaven!' Hereon Barssissa adored him, thus becoming liable to *quick chastisement and to eternal perdition, as Allah the* Most High has said: 'This is like the parable of Satan when he said to man: Become an infidel, and when he became an infidel, Satan said: "I am clear of thee; I fear the Lord of both worlds,"'[236] implying that he could not help him. Accordingly the end of similar men is in hell-fire, and such was the case with Barssissa as well as with the demon. Ebn A'bbâs also relates that after the time of Barssissa monks dwelt in insignificant corners until Jarih the monk appeared.

Record of Jarih the Monk.

It is related that during the time intervening between I'sa—t. w. s.—and Muhammad—bl., etc.—a learned, intelligent, and abstemious youth appeared, whose name was

[236] Qurân, ch. viii. 50.

Jarih. He became addicted to solitude [already] in the thirteenth year of his life, which he spent in obedience and prayer. His mother was distinguished by modesty, piety, retirement, and sedateness. She was in the habit of bringing food and drink to his cell, and when she once arrived at the door of it in a rainy night he failed to reply to her call, as he was absorbed in his devotions. When the pious woman became tired of standing at the door, she exclaimed: 'May God show thee the countenances of the notorious ones!' meaning courtesans and wicked females.

On account of the crime committed by Barssissa the people had become exasperated against monks, and injured them by words and deeds; they were likewise hostile to Jarih for his asceticism and piety. They concocted various stratagems for the purpose of ruining him, and at last took hold of a prostitute, whom they induced on the promise of a large sum of money to asperse Jarih with the suspicion of profligacy. This woman they instructed how to obtain admission to the cell, and conveying her to the door of it, they sat down in the ambush of deceit and fraud. This woman, who was extremely handsome, shook the ring of the door of Jarih, whereon the latter asked: 'Who art thou?' She replied: 'I am a poor woman coming from a distant place, and I dread to spend the night in the desert for fear of robbers and wild beasts; if thou allowest me to spend it at the threshold of thy cell I shall consider it as a great favour.' Jarih took pity on the woman, admitted her, and continued his devotions. After he had terminated them, the adulteress began her arts of dalliance, and courted closer intercourse with him. But the hermit replied: 'I shall not be guilty of such an act,' and continued his prayers. It is related that [nevertheless] the inspirations of Satan took such effect on Jarih that he became willing to commit adultery with her, but, fearing the fire of hell, exclaimed: 'O my soul! if thou canst bear to be scorched in the flames I shall satisfy thy concupiscence.' Then he put his hand into the fire, and when one of his fingers was burnt his lust abandoned him. Satan, however, continuing

to tempt him, he again tried to stifle his passion, stretched his hand forth into the fire, and struggled with himself till the morn dawned. At daybreak he opened his door and let the woman out, who was immediately assailed with questions from all sides by the evil-doers, who wanted to know what had taken place, and she spoke as follows: 'It is a long time since Jarih has had intercourse with me, and I am with child by him; nay, the time of my confinement is near at hand.' The malefactors then immediately threw a halter on the neck of Jarih, and dragged him to the residence of the king, to whom they represented the case Jarih was condemned to be killed and crucified; but when his mother heard of the sentence she obtained access to him, and said: 'I know that thou hast not committed adultery; but what has happened took place in consequence of my imprecation' She then left him and hastened to the king, whom she implored not to precipitate this matter, because she would bring proofs of her son's innocence. The king asked how she could do so, whereon she demanded that the profligate woman should be produced. Orders having been issued to that effect, she made her appearance, and the mother of Jarih placed her hand on the abdomen of the woman, uttering a prayer that truth might be discerned from falsehood, and innocence from guilt. Then she exclaimed: 'O tenant of the womb!' Whereon the embryo answered from the uterus: 'I await thy orders!' in such a manner that all persons present heard the voice. Then Jarih's mother asked: 'Who is thy father?' And the voice was heard: 'Such and such a shepherd—the relative of such and such persons.' These words the embryo repeated thrice. The king, with the whole-assembly, was much astonished, and Jarih was liberated.

It is said that when, three days after, the confinement of the adulteress had taken place, the wicked and obstreperous people again assembled, and machinated the destruction of Jarih, whilst some denied that the embryo in the womb had spoken anything at all. The mother of Jarih having been apprised of this, said to the king: 'God, who had

vouchsafed the gift of speech to the infant whilst in the womb, is able to do so out of it likewise.' Accordingly she requested the mother to be brought forward with her child, and this having been done she exclaimed: 'O boy, who is thy father?' The infant replied in a loud voice: 'Such and such a shepherd.' When the people who were in the assembly heard this statement they ceased to persecute Jarih.

In some traditions it is narrated that a shepherd who pastured his flock in the vicinity of Jarih's hermitage had intercourse with the adulteress, but that the owner of the cell prohibited the shepherd from there associating with the woman, and that the shepherd thus offended, had instructed his paramour to accuse Jarih of having committed adultery with her. When this rumour had been heard by the governor he issued orders for the execution and crucifixion of the hermit; and on the latter's meeting the woman on the road and smiling, the people asked him for the reason, whereon he replied: 'I have fallen into this trial on account of the imprecation of my mother, who once said to me: May God show thee the countenances of the notorious ones.' After that the monk asked the infant in an assembly. 'Who is thy father?' And God the Most High and Glorious caused the infant to say: 'A certain shepherd,' which words he repeated thrice. The people heard them, were astonished, and released Jarih; God, however, is most wise!

The Lords of the Pit [237]

God the Most High has said: 'And it is related of the lords of the pit.' Historians and commentators have stated that the contrivers of the pit dwelt in Yaman, and that they were governed by a powerful king named Zunnuwâs, who had a wazir, skilled in magic and soothsaying, to whom he entrusted the supreme administration of the State. When this wazir was overtaken by weakness and old age, and the time of his departure to the infernal regions was

[237] Meaning 'the inhabitants of Akhdôd.' See Qurân, ch. lxxxv. 4: 'Cursed were the contrivers of the pit,' etc.

close at hand, he requested the king to procure an intelligent youth for the purpose of instructing him in the arts of sorcery, and making him fit to become his successor in the office. Zunnuwâs complied with this demand, and brought him a young man of considerable talents. Some have related that while this youth was under the tuition of the wazir and studied magic, he went out one night for some purpose, and heard the following words reaching his ears from under the ground: 'O glorious one! what will save me from Thy wrath? I swear by Thy glory that I am melting with desire to please thee, and that my soul has on the strength of the hope of the return of Thy favour, ceased to be subject to transgressions by lusts.' Then the young man searched and discovered the entrance to a subterraneous apartment, where he found a monk dressed in sackcloth, engaged in prayers and lamentations. The monk asked the youth: 'Who has brought thee to this place? I have severed myself from the world, and am contented with eating grass, and wearing sackcloth.' The young man replied: 'After hearing thy voice and beholding thy countenance, I feel great inclination to make profession of the religion of Islâm.' The monk adjured him to inform no one about this subject for fear of imperilling his life, but nevertheless accepted his profession. He then became a Musulmân, visited the monk whenever he got an opportunity, profited much by intercourse with him, so that his own prayers met with responses, and he was enabled to work various miracles. On a certain occasion he met a crowd of people standing on the road, and asking for the reason, he was informed that a dragon was blocking the way. At the invitation of the young man the people followed him and encountered the dangerous monster; but the young man drew his hand over the back of the dragon, which act caused it immediately to retire, and to disappear from the sight of the people, all of whom were amazed at this miracle.

On another occasion he saw a lion pursuing a number of men, who were trying to run away from him; but this

young man approached the beast of prey, whispered something in its ear, which caused it immediately to hasten to the desert. After that he met one of the chamberlains of Zunnuwâs, who was blind, and whom all the physicians had given up. To him he said: 'If thou wilt follow me, I shall pray to the Lord of Glory to restore thy sight.' When the chamberlain had made a promise to that effect, the youth prayed, and the chamberlain regained his sight, on condition, however, not to reveal the secret of his miraculous cure to anyone without stringent necessity. Accordingly when the king asked him how he had been cured of his blindness, he replied: 'God the Most High has given me health.' Zunnuwâs asked: 'What God?' The chamberlain reiterated: 'The God of heaven and earth, besides whom there is no other, and who is omnipotent.' Zunnuwâs insisted on the details of the case, and asked the chamberlain by whose words he had thus been beguiled, but as he would confess nothing the king condemned him to death. When matters had come to this pass, the chamberlain mentioned the name of the youth who was under the tuition of the wazir to learn magic. Therefore the king summoned the youth to his presence, who confessed that he had restored the sight of the chamberlain by his prayers. The king then examined his wazir whether he was able to heal blindness, and the sorcerer replied: 'How could I teach anyone a thing which I do not know myself?' Then the king asked the youth: 'Who has brought thee to this degree of perfection, and what is thy religion?' Hereon the young man narrated his intercourse with the secluded monk, and exclaimed 'I say that my God is He, besides whom there is no other, the Lord of heaven and earth, who causes men to be born and to die, and He doeth what He willeth!' Hearing these words, the king took much trouble to cause him to abandon these principles; but all his efforts were to no purpose.

It is also related that the youth was so much threatened and persecuted, that he at last revealed the hiding-place of the monk, who, having thereon been dragged to the spot of

execution, was addressed by Zunnuwâs in the following strain: 'After thou hast committed such a transgression, thou must abdicate thy religion, and I shall pardon thee.' But as the hermit refused to comply, he was killed, and the chamberlain likewise tasted the beverage of martyrdom. On that occasion the king said to the youth: 'If thou lovest thy life, thou must give up thy belief.' But as he also refused, Zunnuwâs surrendered him to a crowd of people, who were to throw him into the water, to become the food of fishes; when, however, they reached the sea-shore, the youth prayed, a wind arose, which swept the people of Zunnuwâs into the sea, and the young man returned safe. The king, having been informed of what had taken place, cited the youth to his presence, and asked him in what manner he had escaped death? and he replied: 'Verily my Lord has saved me, and has destroyed them!' At these words the king became so incensed with anger, that he ordered him to be thrown down from the top of a high mountain; but when the young man was taken there, a storm precipitated the idolaters down to the foot of the mountain, and he escaped. When the young man returned, Zunnuwâs ordered him to be hanged on a cross, but all the arrows shot at him [before that operation] took no effect; and a fire having been kindled [after he had been suspended] under the cross, so that the flames ascended towards the sky, not a hair of his head was burnt. At last the king ordered a shower of arrows to be discharged at him, but not one of them struck the youth.

It is related that when seven days had elapsed after the crucifixion of this young man, he addressed the king, who had come to the cross with a great crowd of people, as follows: 'O tyrant! Thy missile will pierce my body, if thou utterest at the time of shooting it the words: "I discharge this arrow in the name of the Lord of this boy!"' Accordingly Zunnuwâs pronounced these words and shot the arrow, which struck the youth in a mortal spot, whereon the bird of his soul immediately flew to the throne of God. The majority of the people, however, who had

assembled near the cross and witnessed this scene, exclaimed: 'We believe in the Lord of this boy.' The courtiers of Zunnuwâs then said to him: 'What thou hast dreaded has happened.' Whereat the king became so incensed with anger, that he commanded bonfires to be lit on the mountains, the sparks of which reached the flambeau of the sun, and all persons refusing to renounce the faith were thrown into the flames. It is said that the last person who was given the option to choose between combustion and renunciation of the religion was a woman with a sucking-babe in her arms, for the sake of which she was willing to adopt the persuasion of Zunnuwâs; but all of a sudden God bestowed the gift of speech on the infant, and it spoke as follows: 'O mother! fear thy Creator, and do not prefer unbelief to religion.' The woman replied: 'My love for thee has induced me to do so.' But the babe continued: 'There is no need of it, because the Most Merciful of those who are merciful will deliver us from the persecution of this infidel.' Thereon the mother leapt into the fire with her child, but the Almighty caused the fire to be cold to them, screening them both from the sight of the people, and then leading them safely out of it. After the cremation of the monotheists, the fire spread in all directions and consumed the infidels likewise, as the Most High has said 'For them is the punishment of hell and the punishment of fire.'

It is related that during the reign of O'mar Bin Khettâb —u. w. b., etc.—some Arabs of the desert, who were professors of Islam, discovered in a valley of Yaman an individual suspended on a cross, one of whose hands was on his chin, but returned to it again every time it was removed therefrom, whereat they were much astonished. They represented the case to O'mar—u. w. b., etc.—who referred them to Ka'b-ullâkhbâr, whereon the latter narrated the story of Zunnuwâs, the crucifixion of the youth, and of the contrivers of the pit, as has been narrated above; whereon O'mar ordered the crucified man to be taken down, shrouded, and buried.

Record of Jarjis [Georgius] and his Miracles.

Some of the chief historians narrate that Jarjis had been a disciple of the apostles. Certain pupils of theirs have recorded that he dwelt in Syria, in the town of Filisteen, and that he had property, to calculate the extent whereof exceeds the powers of imagination. A number of Christians, who were his adherents, concealed their religion on account of the predominance of infidels in that country. At that time a powerful and wicked king was reigning in Mousul, to whom also the inhabitants of Syria were subject. He possessed an idol called Aflûn [Apollo ?], to the worship of which he invited the people, and everyone refusing to comply was grievously tormented. On that occasion Jarjis conceived the idea of taking some exquisite presents to the King of Mousul, in order to remain safe to the end of his life from the rapacious attempts of powerful individuals to get hold of his possessions. Accordingly he collected some choice gifts and departed to Mousul, where he arrived just at the time when the king was sitting in the assembly of his grandees, in front of an enormous bonfire, inviting the people to worship Aflûn, pardoning everyone who complied, and throwing all into the fire who refused. When Jarjis saw what was going on, he said to himself: 'It is impossible for me to remain silent in such a case, and to approach this wicked man is illicit, according to the principles of religion and probity.' Accordingly he departed from the assembly, but exclaimed in a loud voice: 'O king! hear the words of truth, and calm thy wrath, that thou mayest acknowledge me as thy faithful adviser, and act according to my admonitions.' He also said: 'O king! thou art a servant, and hast an Omnipotent Nourisher, who created heaven and earth, with whatever is between them. He has called thee and all created beings from the concealment of non-existence into the plain of being, and has assigned thee thy daily bread. But thou hast deflected from the straight path, and believest a carved stone, which has no power whatever to be God,

commanding people to adore it as the Deity. Accept therefore my advice, abandon this false religion, and turn thy face to the true Qiblah.' The king asked: 'Who art thou, and whence comest thou?' Jarjis replied: 'I am a servant of the servants of God, who has created me of loam, and will again transform me into it. My native country is Rûm, and my dwelling-place Filisteen. The Lord and bestower of gifts has vouchsafed to me the possession of much property; but fearing the darkness and heat of the sun of calamities, I had the intention of taking refuge under the shadow of the king's protection, and have come to this place. When, however, I beheld the king worshipping an object made with hands, and forcing people by threats and punishments to adopt a false religion, I lost the reins of self-possession from my hands, and preferred speech to silence.' The king replied: 'In consequence of thy utterances and thy opposition to me, thou hast become liable to punishment, but I respite and advise thee, in the same manner as thou hast at first commenced by advising me, that thou obey me, and that thou consider my wazir, my viceroy, and all my officials, with their honour and magnificence [who follow my religion]. Thou art deceived by worshipping a God from whom thou derivest no profit. For, if thy God were endued with the qualities attributed to Him by thee, He would have lifted thee out of this misery and baseness, and would have exalted thee to be a prince above all other men' Jarjis retorted: 'I am not scorned and miserable in the sight of my Creator, humility and resignation are duties to me; I covet not the pomp and circumstance of thy people, and I entertain full confidence in the grace of my God.' Perceiving two men very near to the king, Jarjis continued: 'Thou and thy idol are both mean and despicable! You can create nothing, nor provide anyone with food, and can neither hurt nor profit anybody! My Nourisher is the Omnipotent Sage, and the proof of my assertion is, that neither of these two men, who are favoured and honoured by the king, can attain either the state of Eliâs or of I'sa.'

The king asked: 'Who is Eliâs and who is I'sa?' Jarjis replied: 'Eliâs was a servant of God, in need of food and drink, but has now by the favour of the Lord attained a state of beatitude, is at present invested with the qualities of angels, and stands no longer in need of physical nourishment. I'sa was a servant of God, whom He created without the intervention of a father, and invested with the robe of prophecy, so that he resuscitated dead persons, cured dumb and leprous individuals, and after the manifestation of these miracles, the Lord and Answerer of prayers raised him to heaven, and assigned to him a place near His glorious throne.' The king replied · 'Thou hast made a long speech, and related stories, the truth whereof is not evident to us, but if thou adorest not Aflûn, we shall throw thee into the fire.' Jarjis rejoined: 'If the erection of the heavens, and the spreading out of the earth, the rising of the sun and of the moon, the alternations of day and night, and the production of plants and trees depend upon the power of Aflûn, I am ready to adore him; but otherwise not.' The king replied 'After this there is no respite to thy punishment' Then he ordered the flesh of his body to be torn off with tongs of iron, and his limbs to be wrenched off. But as Jarjis felt not the least pains from these torments, the king commanded iron nails to be made red-hot in the fire, and to be stuck in his head, which operation likewise could not injure him. Thereon the king ordered a vessel to be filled with molten brass, into which Jarjis was thrown; then it was covered until it cooled and became solid again. When, however, the top had been lifted, Jarjis was found to be alive. At last the king asked: 'Has this punishment not hurt thee?' Jarjis replied: 'No.' He further queried: 'What was the cause of thy safety?' Jarjis rejoined. 'I have informed thee that I have a God who is omnipotent, and He has granted me deliverance from this calamity that it may become a convincing argument to thee.' The king now feared lest he might lose his realm and sovereignty [if he allowed himself to be thus contradicted]; therefore Jarjis was thrown into

prison, prostrated on his face, and the extremities of his body having been fixed to the ground by means of iron nails, a block of marble was placed on his back. When the night set in, God the Most High and Glorious sent an angel to Jarjis, to adorn him with the diadem of prophecy, and to convey to him the following message: 'By God, who is longsuffering and thankful, thou art commanded to be longsuffering and thankful. The Most High says: For seven years We shall surrender thee to the grasp of the professors of infidelity and wickedness; and Our decree is that they shall four times attempt to slay thee, but every time thou wilt again be resuscitated to life by My omnipotence, and wilt after the fifth attempt be translated to the regions of paradise. Be of good cheer, because in all circumstances My favour will accompany thee.'

At daybreak Jarjis suddenly made his appearance in the king's palace, and the tyrant asked: 'Who has released thee from prison?' The pious man replied: 'The sovereign whose power is greater than that of all kings.' At this answer the infidel became so angry that he ordered Jarjis to be placed on his head [upside down] and cut in twain. The [two] pieces were thrown into a den tenanted by lions, who, however, by Divine inspiration did not allow the pieces to fall to the ground, but submissively received them upon their backs. Then the eternal Lord sent an angel, who spoke as follows. 'Thus saith the Lord Almighty: I have granted thee a new life by a miracle, the like of which no ear has ever heard of, nor eye beheld.'

The next day the king held a great festival of rejoicing, sat in the assembly of his favourite courtiers, praised Aflûn, said that no God was stronger than him, and asked: 'Where is Jarjis, who had threatened us with the thing he was adoring?' All of a sudden, however, Jarjis raised his head in the midst of the assembly, whereat the king and his grandees became much amazed, and said: 'This man greatly resembles Jarjis!' The latter replied: 'I am Jarjis, God the Most High has resuscitated me after being

killed! If you were in possession of a little sense and intellect, you would believe in a God who is able to perform such acts!' The idolaters then said to each other: 'Jarjis is a sorcerer. By his perfect knowledge of magic he pretends to have been killed,' such not having been the case in reality. The proper thing for us to do now is to assemble the magicians in order to conquer and to punish him.' The king, having agreed to this proposal, issued orders for all the sorcerers to assemble under the shade of his exalted throne. When they had all arrived, he said to their chief: 'In this town there is a man whose sorcery has distressed me. Now you must show me some of your works, that I may be apprized of your ability.' Accordingly the chief of the magicians took out two serpents from a bag, which were in the sight of the people transformed into two oxen, and began to plough the ground. Then the chief sorcerer sowed grain in the soil, which immediately sprouted and grew; he harvested, threshed, and bruised it, and made the flour he had obtained therefrom into a mass of dough, which he baked. All present approved of this feat, and said: 'We are certain that thou wilt conquer Jarjis. Then the king promised a reward to the magician, and told him to transmute Jarjis into a dog. The sorcerer agreed, asked for a cup of water, recited an incantation over it, and requested the king to order Jarjis to drink it. The latter obeyed, and when the magician asked: 'Jarjis, how feelest thou?' He replied: 'Quite well, because I was very thirsty, and this water has refreshed me. The true God has preserved me from the wicked machinations of persecutors and of Satan.' When the sorcerer perceived that his incantation had taken no effect, he was amazed and said: 'O king! if a created being were thy antagonist, we could assist thee; but thou wantest to resist the creator of heaven and earth; and in this matter we must confess our weakness and inability.' Then one of the persons present said: 'You consider Jarjis to be a sorcerer, but no magician is able to elude death.' With this opinion the chief of the sorcerers

agreed, and the man continued: 'We have been in the country of Syria, where an old woman's cow died. She came to Jarjis, and asked him to resuscitate the animal by his power, whereon he handed his staff to the woman, saying: "Take it, and strike the dead cow therewith, and it will be alive again." The woman replied: "It is a long way from this place to my country, and when I arrive there, the limbs of the cow will probably have become separated from each other." Jarjis, however, replied: "If only a single bone of the cow remains, the object will be attained." Accordingly the old woman returned, acted as she had been ordered, and her cow was again made alive.' Then the same man asked the chief magician: 'Are sorcerers able to resuscitate the dead?' and he replied: 'No, by God, and I bear witness that there is no God but Allah.' Hearing this ejaculation the king became angry, and queried: 'What has so quickly deceived and led thee astray?' But that righteous and sincere man replied: 'God forbid that I should have fallen into error! I have professed my belief in the God of all men!' The king dreaded that such declarations might induce also others to follow Jarjis; therefore he ordered first the tongue of this believer [*i.e.*, of the chief magician] to be cut out, and that he should afterwards be killed. This was done, but the news spread, and four thousand persons, adopting his opinions, became Musulmâns. As soon, however, as the unbelieving tyrant had obtained information that such a number of men had made profession of Islâm, he commanded them all to be murdered, and then said to Jarjis: 'Why hast thou not asked thy God to prohibit me from killing them?' The saint replied: 'The bountiful God has removed His obedient worshippers to paradise, to deliver them from thy tyranny and from the troubles of this world. They have obtained propinquity to the mercy of the Lord of both worlds.'

It is related that after this event, one of the king's courtiers said: 'O Jarjis, thou believest that thy God doeth what he willeth, and createth what he liketh! If thy

God will cause these chairs, whereon we are seated, to return to their first state, and again to become trees, I shall believe in him!' Jarjis replied: 'The Lord Most High—w. n. b. e.—may grant this prayer if He likes, but no one has any authority over Him.' Meanwhile an angel descended from heaven, and said to Jarjis: 'The Lord of glory vouchsafes to thee so much favour and mercy, that every prayer of thine meets with compliance.' This information augmented the confidence of Jarjis in the grace of the Creator, and he turned his face to the Qiblah of prayer. Accordingly the chairs began immediately to shake, to sprout forth leaves, and to bear fruit. The king with his grandees witnessed this miracle, and the courtier, who had promised to believe Jarjis in case of his ability to perform it, exclaimed: 'In all my life I have not seen a more clever sorcerer than this man!' Hereon insults were heaped upon Jarjis, and he was thrust into a brazen statue of an ox, filled with sulphur and naphtha. Then a fire was kindled beneath it, so that every substance within the statue was melted, and the king thought that Jarjis had departed to the next world. Meanwhile God the Most High afflicted that hard-hearted community with a hurricane of rain and snow, thunder and darkness, so that for several days they were unable to discern the night from the day. On that occasion the Lord Most High despatched an angel to the earth, who precipitated the statue of the ox with such violence to the ground that the terrible noise occasioned thereby prostrated all the inhabitants of that town upon their faces, whereon Jarjis issued sound and safe from the statue.

When the tempest had abated, Jarjis again honoured the assembly of the king with his presence, reiterated his admonitions, and the amazement of the king and his grandees increased. Then a courtier, whose name was Tûrqalitâ, said to Jarjis: 'In this neighbourhood there is a cavern with receptacles cut out of the rock, every one of which contains a body of some ancient king. If thy pretension be true, recite a prayer that they hold a conversa-

tion with us.' Jarjis agreed to this proposal, and a great multitude accompanied him to the cave, at the entrance whereof he knelt down in prayer, and ordered the rotten bones of the kings, their wives, and children to be brought out from the receptacles, and to be deposited in separate places Then he besought the Granter of requests to bestow life on that assemblage. This prayer was responded to, and the ancient corpses, amounting in number to nine men, five women, and three children, were resuscitated to life. Jarjis perceived an aged man among them, and asked: 'What is thy name?' and he replied: 'Touqil.' The saint further examined him about his religion, and he answered: 'All my life I was an idolater, and although four hundred years have elapsed since my decease, the bitterness of the agony of death has not yet left my palate. When I died I was conveyed to the righteous Creator, and when He inquired about my religion He found me and my companions to be idolaters. He appointed worms over our bodies, and grief over our souls, and although we prayed much to be once more sent back to the world in order to atone for our past lives, we were not permitted to do so, and were suffering torments till this moment when our souls rejoined their bodies.' Having uttered these words, Touqil continued to speak to Jarjis, saying: 'O pious man, who art thou by the aid of whose efficacious prayers we have been resuscitated to life?' He replied: 'I am Jarjis the prophet.' When Touqil heard the name of his lordship, he caught hold of his skirts, and exclaimed: 'Have mercy on us now, that the Lord, whose glory be magnified, may take compassion upon us, and accept the repentance of His miserable handful of clay, and grant our request.' But Tûrqalitâ said to Touqil: 'Thou hast been a celebrated king, and hast for a long time propagated the religion of thy ancestors, art thou not ashamed now to bow to this seducer?' Touqil, however, turned his face away from him, and said: 'I know what I have seen after my decease.' Then Jarjis struck the ground with his foot, whereon a spring of water gushed from

beneath it, in which he ordered that assembly to wash themselves according to the rules prescribed for the sacred ablutions. Then the resuscitated corpses pronounced the formula of monotheism, whereon Jarjis again struck the ground with his foot, and God—w. n. b. e.—caused them to die again; then they took their places in the paradise of eternity.

It is related that despite of this miracle of Jarjis neither the king nor any of his followers believed in him, but said, after having witnessed this strange event: 'O Jarjis! In all our lives we have not seen a magician more perfect than thee, because thou hast shown us dead persons in a state of life, none of whom possessed it in reality.' The idolaters and enemies consulted with each other about the destruction of Jarjis, and agreed to torment him with hunger, in order to cause him to revoke his assertions. Accordingly they confined him in the house of a poor old woman, who had a deaf, blind, lame, and dumb son, in such a manner that he was unable to move. Jarjis asked the woman to give him some food, but she swore an oath and said: 'These two days and nights I had only the little food which I gathered by begging to satisfy my hunger; now I intend to go out to collect some for thee.' As soon as the old woman had disappeared Jarjis prayed that a wooden post which was in the house might become green and fresh, and produce various fruits. Accordingly the post began to grow and lifted its head towards the sky. When the old woman returned to the house, and beheld that tree, she said: 'I believe in God, besides whom there is no other! He has fed thee in the house of famine!' She was very anxious for the recovery of her son, and besought Jarjis to condescend to effect it, adding: 'Withhold not the eye of favour from his tongue and feet also, that he may speak and walk.' But he replied: 'Verily thou hast yet another day,' implying that the walking and speaking of her son was postponed for another day.

It is related that in those days the king once passed near the house of the old woman, and beholding the tree which

bore various fruits, made inquiries about it. The courtiers replied: 'This sorcerer Jarjis has caused it to grow, and has also cured the old woman's son.' The king further asked how it had happened, that all this time information had been withheld from him concerning that event, and the courtiers answered that they had been apprehensive of thereby causing uneasiness to his majesty. Hereon the king became incensed with anger, and ordered the house of the woman to be destroyed, together with the tree, which was dug up root and branch. By the prayers of Jarjis, however, that grove was again restored to its former condition. After that the king ordered the body of Jarjis to be cut to pieces, to be burnt, and the ashes thereof to be divided into three parts; the first portion was thrown into the sea, the second upon the land, and the third carried off to a mountain. The crowd, however, had not yet dispersed when the following words were heard: 'O sea and O mountain! Guard the particles of My pious servant, which have been entrusted to you, and collect the ashes that they may return to their pristine state!' During this allocution a wind arose from three sides, and a great cloud of dust approached, in the centre whereof Jarjis became visible, shaking his blessed head. The people then carried the saint to the presence of the king, and related what had taken place. The infidel and godless monarch was amazed, but said to Jarjis: 'If thou obeyest me in one thing thou wilt escape all further persecution, and the honour of the kingdom will not suffer any detriment. I shall, moreover, treat thee very kindly, and comply with all thy wishes.' Jarjis asked: 'What must I do?' The king replied: 'Worship Aflûn once, and after that service I shall require nothing more from thee.'

As Jarjis was intent upon the destruction of the idol, he promised compliance, whereon the king became so glad that he said to him: 'Thou must spend this day with me, and also repose in the night on my couch, in order that thy dignity may become evident to the high and to the low people.' Accordingly Jarjis remained that day with the

king, but in the evening he arose to pray and recited the Psalms aloud. By the sweetness of the voice of Jarjis and by the salutary effect of the recitation of the word of God, the wife of the king was, during that night, delivered from the darkness of infidelity and idolatry.

When the world-illuminating sun rose on the eastern horizon Jarjis entered the idol-temple, at the door whereof a great multitude of the people had assembled The above-mentioned old woman, in whose house Jarjis had formerly been imprisoned, having heard of what was going to take place, took her son upon her back, made her appearance in the temple, and began to reproach Jarjis as follows: 'O Jarjis! God the Most High has ennobled thee with the garment of prophecy, has caused thee to triumph over thy foes, and has resuscitated thee to life every time they killed thee; thou hast nevertheless forgotten all His favours, and art engaged in worshipping another god besides Him.' Jarjis replied: 'Let down thy son from thy back, because it is for a wise purpose.' The old woman complied, and Jarjis said to the child: 'Go and say to the idols: Jarjis is calling you!' Accordingly the boy delivered the message to the statues, whereon they all approached his lordship to wait upon him; but Jarjis stamped the ground with his foot, whereon all the idols fell down.

It is related that Eblis felt on that occasion the humiliation of the idols, and came forth from the abdomen of Aflûn, which was the largest of them, but Jarjis held the devil back and asked him: 'What is thy object in leading men astray and sending them to hell?' Eblis replied: 'I delight in seducing men from their allegiance to the sovereign of heaven and earth, on account of the enmity which I bore towards Adam, and which I still entertain towards all his descendants.'

When the king saw that Aflûn and all the other idols had fallen to the ground he exclaimed: 'O Jarjis, thou hast deceived me and hast destroyed the object of my adoration!' Jarjis replied: 'How callest thou inorganic matter a god since it has no power to avert from itself any

such calamity?' On that occasion the king was also informed that his spouse had made profession of Islâm, and ordered her to be slain in the most disgraceful manner. After the execution of this monotheistic lady Jarjis fell on his knees and prayed as follows: 'O Lord! During these seven years Thou hast tried me with various afflictions; now, however, the promised time has expired! Receive me, O Lord, into the propinquity of Thy mercy, and grant that before my final departure from this earth I may behold the punishment of the transgressors.' When he had terminated this invocation a cloud was appointed from the abode of chastisement to destroy the infidels, and it began to rain fire on their heads. As, however, the idolaters received this judgment without repenting hearts, it served only to inflame their wrath, so that they drew their swords and cut Jarjis to pieces. The fire consumed the whole city, with all the idolaters; the believers, however, remained safe, and the number of those who had placed faith in the words of Jarjis is said to have amounted to thirty-three thousand; but God is most wise!

RECORD OF SHAMSÛN THE HERMIT.

It is said that after the ascension of I'sa—t. w. s.—and before the mission of the seal of prophets—u. w. b., etc.—there lived a hermit in some Arab country, who was so powerful and strong, that he tore any bonds by which he was fastened, spent most of his time in fighting against infidels, and bore the name of Shamsûn. The idolaters consulted with each other how they might destroy him, and said: 'We may vanquish him through his own wife.' Accordingly the governor of the town sent a messenger to the woman, with the promise that he would marry her, and give her much property, if she would connive at the destruction of Shamsûn. The unfaithful wife, laying aside the duties she owed to her husband, consented to become an accomplice in the plot. It is related that she asked for instructions, and that she was told to fasten Shamsûn with ropes. Accordingly, when he went to bed, she tied him,

but when he awoke he burst the shackles, and asked for the reason of thus confining him; but his wife replied that she had done this only to try his strength, and he was satisfied. When the woman had made her report to the king, he sent a chain with orders to fetter Shamsûn therewith, after he had fallen asleep. This attempt likewise proved unsuccessful, and when Shamsûn expostulated with his wife, she said that she intended to ascertain the truth of the saying: 'Shamsûn is able to burst any fetters.' Shamsûn replied: 'This is true; but if I am tied with my own hair, I am unable to liberate myself.' Accordingly, when he had fallen asleep, his treacherous wife cut off several hairs from his blessed moustache [*sic*], with which she tied together the thumbs of his hands, and then sent a message to the infidels. They came immediately and took Shamsûn to the presence of the king, who was at that time sitting on a stage supported by four columns. As soon as Shamsûn arrived, the king ordered the people to assemble at the foot of the stage, and a gibbet to be erected opposite to it, whereon to hang Shamsûn. The latter, however, uttered the following prayer: 'O Lord! if Thou art willing to preserve my life, for the purpose of waging war against Thy enemies, deign to extricate me from this calamity.' This prayer having met with a favourable response, an angel arrived, liberated him from his bonds, and ordered him to pull down the columns of the stage whereon the king was sitting. Shamsûn obeyed, the stage fell to the ground, and the king with all his courtiers hastened to the mansion of hell. Whilst the people were engaged in disentangling the corpses from the débris of the platform, Shamsûn returned sound and safe to his hermitage, but divorced his wife. It is related that Shamsûn spent a thousand days in fasting, and as many nights in vigils; but some commentators assert that the meaning of 'a thousand months' in the blessed verse, 'The night of Al-Qadr is better than a thousand months,'[238] relates to the thousand months which Shamsûn spent in the worship of the forgiving Sovereign.

[238] Qurân, ch xcvii. 3.

Record of Khâled Bin Senân.

Some have said that Khâled Bin Senân was one of the children of the prophet Esma'il. He was sent during the period of the *Fettrat*, *i.e.*, the time intervening between the ascension of I'sa—t. w. s.—and the mission of Muhammad —u. w. b., etc. He said to his people: 'An angel, who is the treasurer of the Almighty, comes to visit me, and converses with me about paradise and hell, about the resurrection, the balance [in which good and bad acts are weighed], and about all matters concerning the next world.' At that time a fire issued during nights from rocky places in the country of Ghais, so that the Arabs were able to graze their camels by the brightness of that fire as far as a three days' journey from it. When Khâled mentioned his interview with the angel to those Arabs, they said: 'If thy pretensions be true, extinguish the fire.' Accordingly he proceeded to the locality and put out the fire with his staff. After that he said to the people: 'I am departing to the next world. Three days after my death an onager will make his appearance on my tomb, and will bray thrice. You must kill him, open his abdomen, and strike it against my grave, whereon I shall come forth from it, to give you information concerning this world and the next.' After the expiration of three nights, an onager actually made his appearance at the grave and brayed thrice; but when the people were about to execute the injunction, the relatives of Khâled hindered them, saying: 'Perhaps he might not come forth from the grave, which would become an occasion of shame and blame to us.' In the *Ma'arif Hassibi* it is recorded that the daughter of Khâled came in her old age to the prophet—u. w. b., etc.—and that his lordship spread out his Redâ,[239] on which he made her sit down, and said: 'Welcome, daughter of the Beni Dhia'h.' When she heard the Surah of the 'Declaration of the unity of God'[240] from his lord-

[239] A sheet, to serve as a mantle, shawl, or loin-cloth.

[240] This is ch. cxii. of the Qurân, and consists only of four short verses.

ship, she said: 'My father was in the habit of reciting this Surah.'

Dissertation concerning the Number of Prophets—Greetings and Salutations to them.

Opinions differ concerning the number of the prophets—salutations to them. Most historians assert that from the time of Adam till that of the seal [*i.e.*, Muhammad] one hundred and twenty-four thousand prophets had been sent, and this opinion is endorsed by Ebn Hanân in his *Ssahih*. Others believe that their number does not exceed eight thousand; and Abu-Ala'llâi Moussuli adopts this conjecture in his *Jâmi'*, in which he states that his lordship, the refuge of apostleship, had spoken as follows: 'Allah, the Most High, has sent me, who am Muhammad, after eight thousand prophets.' Of these eight thousand prophets, four thousand had been appointed to guide and to direct the children of Esrâil, and the remaining four thousand were sent to various other nations. Abdullah Bin Ahmad Bin Khalil—Allah have mercy on him—has in his *Kitâb Ta'rif-ulambiâ* related on the authority of Yahia Bin Sa'id that the chosen Lord [*i.e*, Muhammad] has said: 'I am the seal of a thousand prophets or more.'

Those who adhere to the first-mentioned opinion assert that of the whole number of one hundred and twenty-four thousand prophets, only four thousand three hundred and thirteen were divinely inspired, and that all the others were uninspired. He is an inspired prophet to whom the Divine inspiration has been sent through Jebrâil—t. w. s.—apart from the circumstance of his receiving also a book or not. He is an uninspired prophet who has, for the sake of promulging a revelation, been appointed over a nation only by means of a vision [in his sleep].

The grades of the prophets are four, namely: Prophecy, Apostleship, *Uvlu-l-a'zm*,[241] and Sealship. The first grade is

[241] This expression has already been explained in Vol. I., note 84. It occurs also at the end of ch. xlvi of the Qurân, where it is rendered by Sale as 'endued with constancy.'

general, and the second special, but the fourth is the most special. Concerning the signification of the expression *Uvlu-l-a'zm*, there is a great difference of opinion, but as the author desires to be brief, he will expatiate only a little thereon: Some U'lâma call all the prophets *Uvlu-l-a'zm*, except the Lord Yûnas. Others assert that the *Uvlu-l-a'zm* were founders of religion, and according to them Adam, Nûh, Ebrahim, Mûsa, I'sa, and Muhammad—the blessings of Allah be on him and on them—are all *Uvlu-l-a'zm*. Others, again, state that the *Uvlu-l-a'zm* were abrogators of religions, and according to them Adam was not an *Uvlu-l-a'zm*, but the five others just named after him were such. There is but one Seal, as all the people [of Muhammad] agree, namely, his blessed and perfect essence the Lord Muhammad, who was without any doubt the highest of all the prophets. It is related that the most excellent of prophets after his lordship was Ebrahim, the friend [of God]; then Mûsa, the speaker [with God]; then I'sa, and then Nûh (t. w. s). There are four possessors of books, the first being Mûsa, possessor of the Pentateuch; the second is Dâud, possessor of the Psalms; the third is I'sa, possessor of the Gospel; and the fourth is Huzrat Sayyid Wulud Adam Muhammad Bin A'bdullah Bin A'bdul Mutalleb—u. w. b., etc.—possessor of the Qurân.

Some relate that twenty-one pages have descended to Adam, twenty-nine to Sheth, thirty to Edris, ten to Nûh, and also ten to Ebrahim. The blessings of Allah be on our prophet, on all other prophets and inspired messengers, martyrs, and righteous men.

It has not escaped the intelligence of the attentive reader that the delay in completing this portion of the work is mainly attributable to the insertion of details unworthy to be recorded. It is, moreover, certain that if His Highness the Amir—the protector of learned and good men, may his reign endure for ever—had not taken a fancy to these stories, not one-hundredth part of them would have been recorded, especially as the task itself was a very difficult one, and as envious critics were ever prone

to blame the author, who is, however, fully satisfied with his patron's approbation—may Allah perpetuate his glory—and will now relate the history of the kings of Persia.[242]

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

Here follows in Mirkhond's original work the history of the Persian kings of the Peshdâdian and Kaiânian dynasties, the earliest rulers in Persia. As this part had been already translated by Mr. David Shea in A.D. 1832 for the old Oriental Translation Fund, Mr. Rehatsek did not think it necessary to re-translate it. Shea's translation not being now easily procurable, it was my first intention to reprint it as the third volume of this series, so that the whole of Part I. of Mirkhond's history would be complete in one set. Having ascertained, however, that copies of Shea's work are obtainable at Mr. Quaritch's, 15, Piccadilly, and can also be perused at the libraries of the Royal Asiatic Society and Royal Institution in Albemarle Street, at the British Museum, the Bodleian, and London Library, St. James's Square, it was decided not to go to the expense of a reprint, but to give here a short summary of the work in question.

Mirkhond tells us that the first Peshdâdian and the first king was Kaiomars or Kaiomarth In the total absence of dates it is impossible to fix any time for the commencement of his reign except that it must have been many hundred years before the Christian era. He was succeeded by his grandson Houshung, who, murdered by the demons when

[242] A translation of a portion of this history has been published by the 'Oriental Translation Committee' in 1832, under the title of 'Early Kings of Persia'; accordingly it would have been superfluous to translate it again, and it has been omitted here The full title of the said book has, however, been inserted in my preface to this work, among the translations made by Europeans of portions of the 'Rauzat-us-safa,' and the translator's name is David Shea. The list of the said European editions and translations consists of fourteen works, of which David Shea's is the seventh, and mine will be the fifteenth.

praying in a cave, was followed by his son Tehmuras, surnamed the Enslaver of Demons, as during his reign he completely subdued them. Tehmuras was followed by the great and mighty Jemsheed, but whether he was the son, brother, or nephew of the deceased king is not definitely settled. The reign of Jemsheed fills some twenty odd pages in Shea's translation, and, among other things, this king is said to have 'divided the people into four classes, and enjoined that no individual should engage in the pursuits of any class excepting his own. The first consisted of wise and learned men; the second of the military and the royal retinue; the third of those who plough and sow the ground; the fourth of tradesmen and artificers. With respect to this distribution, he said: "As the four elements are the cause of perpetuating the various species, so these four classes are the means of civilizing the world."' Then follow the details of the duties of each of these classes. Curiously enough, among the Hindus there are the Brahmans or priestly or learned class, the Kshutrya or warlike class, the Vaishya or agricultural class, and the Shoodra or menial class. Whether Jemsheed is the original author of this system has still to be settled, for in the absence of both Persian and Hindu dates it is difficult to fix the time when these arrangements were introduced either into Persia or Hindustan.

After a fabulously long reign, varying from seven hundred to three hundred years, Jemsheed appears to have been attacked, defeated, and succeeded on the throne by Zohâk, the Arab, who reigned also for a fabulous period of several hundred years, and was eventually disposed of by Gâvah the Blacksmith, who headed an insurrection against Zohâk's oppression and tyranny. Gâvah seems to have been rather a sensible man, for, after a successful revolution, when offered the throne, he said: 'I am not one of the royal family, nor do I possess the qualifications necessary for the discharge of that important duty:

> 'One whose profession lies in iron, forges and bellows,
> Would commit a sin by aspiring to the kingly state,'

and so he declined the honour.* On this, Feridoon, a descendant of Jemsheed, and in concealment on account of the designs of Zohâk against him, was discovered and made king. Feridoon, whose praises have been sung along with others of his dynasty by Firdausi in his great epic 'The Shahnamah, or Book of the Kings of Persia,' reigned for many years, and was rebelled against by his two sons Selm and Tûr, who treacherously slew his favourite son and their half-brother Iraj. After a reign of five hundred years Feridoon resigned his throne to his grandson Minucheher, who commenced by attacking, defeating, and slaying the murderers of his father Iraj, and then ruled prosperously. 'But after the auspicious fortune of Minucheher had for nearly fifty years been exercised in expanding the wings of benevolence over the feeble and the husbandmen, suddenly the malignant Deity, on the coin of whose sincerity you can build no hope, and tyrannic Fate, on whose friendship no reliance can be placed, effected a change and impelled Afrasiâb, who was descended from Tûr, to commence hostilities against the sovereign of the human race.' After a long struggle Afrasiâb was obliged to retire from besieging Minucheher in the fort of Âmal, formerly the populous, wealthy, and impregnable capital of Tabaristan, and a sort of truce was established between them. Minucheher then turned his attention to the administration of his government, and delivered a long speech on the respective duties of a king to his subjects and *vice versâ*, which might be perused with advantage even by the kings of the present day. After a reign of one hundred and twenty years he

* For the story of Gâvah and his banner, which afterwards played such an important part in all Persian wars, see Shea's translation. It is stated that 'this banner was only produced on the day of encounter, and in the field of battle, when the eyes of the ever-victorious troops were animated with delight, and their hearts with fortitude on beholding it; every succeeding monarch of Ajem enriched it by the addition of a precious diamond, and this custom continued until the time of Omar, the successor of Abu Bakr and the second Khalif after Muhammad, when at the victory of Kadesia it fell into the hands of the true believers; the piece of leather was burnt by command of Omar, and the precious stones were divided among the indigent and objects of charity.'

appointed his son Nauzer his successor, and died shortly afterwards. Nauzer was attacked and defeated by the Afrasiâb mentioned above, and an eclipse which took place at the time of the battle between them, has been the means of fixing a date on other grounds than tradition only. Shea, in a footnote at page 193, says: 'According to the most probable accounts the reign of Nauzer falls between B.C. 798 and 768. The field of battle [between Nauzer and Afrasiâb] was in Dehestân between 38° and 39° north latitude, and 54° 30′ longitude from Paris. It can be proved from astronomical tables that on April 4, B.C. 778, there occurred a solar eclipse in the meridian and parallel of Dehestân, in which 10 digits 10′ of the sun's disc were concealed by the moon's; it began at 2.23 in the afternoon, and lasted until 5.3 p.m. This calculation not only fixes the period of Nauzer's reign, but may also serve to fix preceding and future dates in Persian history.'

Shortly after the battle Nauzer was put to death, and the reign of Afrasiâb in Iran commenced; but such tyranny was practised that a rebellion was got up under Zaul, the son of Saum, and Zaub, the son of Tehmasp, the son of Minucheher.* Afrasiâb was defeated, and Zaub placed on the throne B.C. 766, the former having reigned twelve years from B.C. 778. After a reign of thirty years, Zaub resigned B.C. 736 in favour of his brother, or, as some say, his minister Gurshâsf, who also reigned for thirty years, to B.C. 706. 'A respectable writer tells us that in the majority of histories the dynasty of the Peshdâdian kings ended with Gurshâsf, after whom, by the unanimous consent of all writers, the sovereign power was vested in the Kaiânian line,' say about B.C. 706.

Though a date has been fixed to the end of the Peshdâdian dynasty, it is to be regretted that no dates can be given to their earlier kings, and also that so little is really known about them. Further discoveries in Egypt and elsewhere may throw some light on the subject. In Egypt

* Full descriptions of these persons and their doings are given in Mirkhond's history, but too long to be quoted here.

it may turn out that this dynasty was connected with the Hyksos, or Shepherd kings, who formed the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth dynasties of the Egyptian kings, and about whom next to nothing as yet is known. It is supposed that they ruled at Sân from B.C. 2214 to 1703, some five hundred years, and that they were foreigners.

Again, further discoveries in India, Assyria, and Babylonia may reveal something more about these Peshdâdians, who may also have made conquests in these countries, or emigrations to them. Mr. Shea, at page 206 of his translation, gives an interesting note, in which it is stated that some of these kings of the Peshdâdian dynasty, such as Jemsheed, Zohâk, and Feridoon, are said to have reigned six hundred, one thousand, and five hundred years respectively. It has been supposed that these names represented dynasties, and 'to the three dynasties of Jemsheed, Zohâk, and Feridoon, we find among the Greeks the three corresponding dynasties of the Chaldæans, Arabs, and Beletâras, in the series of the kings of Nineveh and Assyria.' In the first volume of this work, at page 108, Mirkhond mentions Zohâk, the Arab, as living at the time of the prophet Hûd, who lived some time between Noah and Abraham (page 98).

The Kaiânian Dynasty.

Of this dynasty, Kaikobad was the first monarch, and his first business appears to have been to declare war against Afrasiâb, whose dynasty it is supposed was still extant, for Afrasiâb himself was dethroned from Iran B.C. 766, or sixty years previously. Anyhow, war was declared, and Rustam Dastan, the great Persian hero, now appears upon the scene, and mainly by his efforts Afrasiâb was defeated, and sued for peace, which was granted. Kaikobad then reigned tranquilly for a very long period, and was succeeded by Kai Kâoos [Cambyses?], some say the son, others the grandson of the first king. Kai Kâoos appears to have been engaged in wars a great part of his life, the descriptions of which occupy some twenty-four

pages in Shea's translation, intermixed with stories about his son Siyâwesh, the hero Rustam, and others. After a long reign he retired to the quiet of a religious life, and was succeeded by his grandson Kai Khusrau [Cyrus ?], the son of Siyâwesh, who had been murdered by order of Afrasiâb.

Kai Khusrau appears to have been a great king. He first settled the administrative affairs of his kingdom, and then declared war against Afrasiâb for the murder of his father. The first expedition under his uncle Faribarz ended in defeat, but the second under Gudarz was successful, and after two bloody battles Afrasiâb and his generals were defeated, his capital and country taken, and Afrasiâb himself, after wandering as a fugitive for some time in different parts of the world, was captured and slain. Mirkhond says that after this Kai Khusrau removed from Media to Balkh, and whilst in that country, having made a long speech on the subject of retirement for religious duties, he appointed Lohorasp [Hystaspes ?] his successor, and then departed from among the people, and no one ever after found a trace of him. Shea, at page 262 of his translation, gives the following extract from Malcolm's 'History of Persia':

'The history of Kai Khusrau corresponds in several particulars with the history of Cyrus as given by Herodotus. Siyâwesh was the son of Kai Kâoos, but educated by Rustam. He was compelled by court intrigues to fly to Afrasiâb, the King of Turan [Turkestan], whose daughter he married, and by whom he was afterwards slain. He left a son called Kai Khusrau, whom Afrasiâb resolved to put to death lest he should revenge his father's death; but this cruel intention was defeated by the humanity of his minister Pirân Wisah, who preserved the child, committed him to the care of a shepherd, and had him educated in a manner suitable to his rank. The young prince afterwards effected his escape to the court of his paternal grandfather, Kai Kâoos, and was placed on the throne of Persia during the lifetime of that monarch. The

first act of his reign was to make war upon his maternal grandfather Afrasiâb, whose armies were commanded by Pirân Wisah. This humane minister was defeated and slain; Afrasiâb met with the same fate, and his territories fell into the possession of his victorious grandson. Kai Khusrau, after this conquest and many other achievements, determined to spend the remainder of his days in religious retirement; he proceeded to the spot he had selected, where, we are told, he disappeared; and his train, among whom were some of the most renowned warriors of Persia, perished in a dreadful tempest. This tradition seems to allude to the slaughter of Cyrus and of his whole army by the Scythians under Tomyris.'

Lohorasp [Hystaspes ?] is said to have been the grandson of Kai Kâoos's brother, and it was with some difficulty that Kai Khusrau got the nobles of Iran to consent to the nomination of this person as his successor. Lohorasp had two sons, Gushtasp [Darius Hystaspes] and Zareer, both of whom he rather neglected, 'distinguishing the sons of Kai Kâoos and those of former princes beyond his own children.' On this account Gushtasp got up a plot against his father, which being discovered he fled to the territories of Rûm. Here it may be stated that in Oriental histories, Rûm is used as a general and indefinite name given to the countries west of the Euphrates, as far as the shores of the Mediterranean, Bosphorus, and Euxine.

The adventures of Gushtasp, in the kingdom of Rûm, are given at some length, but eventually he returned with an army, and Lohorasp seems to have resigned the throne in his favour. During the reign of Gushtasp, Zerdusht, or Zoroaster, is said to have appeared in Azarbaijan [Media]. Shea gives at page 274 a short memoir respecting the age in which this Zoroaster, the author of the Zenda Vesta, and the reformer of the religion of the Magi, appeared, and fixes the date about the middle of the sixth century, B.C.

It is a question whether Gushtasp himself became a convert to this religion or not. The subject, however, seems to have been a cause of dispute between him and

Arjasp, the prince of Turkestan, which led as usual to a bloody war, in which Gushtasp was victorious. Mirkhond then relates the story of Esfendiar [Xerxes?], the son of Gushtasp, first his imprisonment, then his release, his adventures and battles with Arjasp, then his campaigns in the further East, afterwards in the West, and finally his fight with Rustam, by whom he was slain, after each had recounted at length the history of his life and his heroic deeds.

According to an extract from Malcolm's Persia, at page 310 of Shea's translation, 'Esfendiar is reckoned, with some probability, the Xerxes of the Greeks, who led the famous expedition of the Persians into that country. The Greeks always speak of Xerxes as the sovereign of Persia, but Esfendiar never had the name of king, though for a time when viceroy at Balkh he possessed regal power. Besides, it is probable that Esfendiar had been associated in sovereignty by a father who is stated to have always employed him in the command of his armies, and the government of a part of the empire.'

Gushtasp avenged his son's death in the usual way by battle and slaughter, and then resigned his kingdom to his grandson, Behmen, son of Esfendiar.

The historians of Fars call this prince Darâz Dast, or long-handed, because his authority extended over the Seven Climates, and he is supposed to be the Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks. After avenging his father's death, it is stated: 'In the course of his reign Behmen deposed Bakhtanassar's son from the government of Babel, which he committed to one of Lohorasp's sons, named Kurêsh, whose mother was descended from the children of Israel; he likewise commanded him to send back the captives of the children of Israel to the territory of the Holy Temple, and to appoint as their governor whomsoever they themselves should select. Kurêsh therefore assembled the children of Israel and appointed Daniel to the government. It is related in some histories that Lohorasp, having deposed Bakhtanassar from the government of Babel, permitted the Israelitish

captives to return in order that the kingdom of Shaum [Syria] should be cultivated. They conformed to these orders, and in the days of Behmen had brought the territory of the Holy Temple to the highest state of cultivation; but Behmen, having sent an ambassador to the children of Israel, their king put him to death, which so aroused his indignation, that he commanded Bakhtanassar a second time to lay waste the country of a people who neither obeyed God nor the decrees of the king. Bakhtanassar therefore, setting out with his army, laid the Holy Temple and the region of Shaum entirely waste, and returned to Irak Araby with one hundred thousand young children, whom he had borne away into captivity; but all knowledge is with the Almighty.'

When Behmen became old he committed the empire to the profound talents of his daughter Homai, to the exclusion of his son Sassân, who became a recluse. Homai afterwards bore a child named Dârâh [Darius II.], who succeeded her, and became a great and mighty king, even defeating Filqûs [Philip], Prince of Rûm, obtaining an annual tribute from him, and marrying his daughter, but sending her back to her father on account of her unpleasant breath 'At this period the illustrious princess was pregnant with Eskandar [Alexander the Great], and her father, to save his reputation, not only kept the matter from being made public, but endeavoured to suppress the secret altogether.'

Dârâh left the empire to his son Dârâ, or Dârâh, also styled Dârâ the Less, who was defeated by Eskandar, and on the day of his escape from the battle assassinated by two persons of Hamadan belonging to his court. 'The sovereign of Rûm, being informed of this event, hastened with all speed to the pillow of Dârâ. The heir to the realms of the Kaiânian line, who had still a spark of life remaining, heaved a cold sigh, having contemplated on the pages of his present state the image of his enemies' exultation, according to the saying: "The life of man, if prolonged even for one day after his enemy's death, is

regarded as a great advantage." Eskandar placed on his lap the head of Dârâ, and kissing it repeatedly, declared with solemn oaths and sincere protestations: "I was unacquainted with this plot, and never sanctioned such a proceeding." As Dârâ had received a deadly wound, and all hope of life was now cut off, he therefore entreated Eskandar to retaliate on his assassins, to bind himself in marriage to his daughter Roushang [Roxana], and not invest a stranger with dominion over the princes of Faristân. Eskandar cheerfully accepted these testamentary instructions, and undertook to fulfil all his requests. And so died the last of the Kaiânian kings.

Considerable interest is attached to the Kaiânian, or, as it is called by the Greeks, Archæmenian dynasty, on account of the mention in the Bible of some of its kings under the names of Ahasuerus, Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes. It is difficult to fix the exact date of this line of kings, and it can only be assumed that the dynasty began about 700, and ended about B.C. 330. It is impossible to make out from the Bible a series of correct dates fitting in with the reigns of the four kings named above; neither can these be fixed in any way from Persian historical sources. But supposing that the succession of these Persian kings as given by Mirkhond is correct, and further supposing that Kai Kâoos, Kai Khusrau, Lohorasp, Gushtasp, and Behmen represent Cambyses or Ahasuerus, Cyrus, Hystaspes, Darius and Artaxerxes, it may be fairly imagined that such a line of succession is not opposed to the manner in which the four kings are spoken of in the Old Testament, and that their dates might be something between B C. 650 and 400.

From Persian history it must also be inferred that Sennacherib, Nebuchadnezzar and his son were not independent sovereigns in Babylon and Assyria, but ruled or reigned under the Kaiânian dynasty of Persia. Space will not, however, here admit of any further remarks on this portion of Mirkhond's history translated by David Shea, and the translation of Mr. E. Rehatsek must now be continued.

RECORD OF ESKANDAR RÛMI [ALEXANDER THE GREAT].

Verses: From his childhood Eskandar courted fame
To gain for knowledge a great name.
By day he practised justice and equity,
From night to morning liberality.
Though devoted to war and strife
He also boasted of foresight in life;
The good with gold and silver he rewarded,
The wicked he entirely discarded.
Learned men he always praised,
And higher than the moon he raised.

In the Greek language the name of Eskandar was 'Akhshidrûsh, meaning a philosopher, which word is composed of fillâ and sûfa; the former signifies 'a lover,' and the latter 'wisdom.' Accordingly the word *filsûf* means 'a lover of wisdom.' Some historians and biographers, however, call him *Zulqarneen Asghar* [Lesser two-horned], because they are of opinion that *Zulqarneen Akber* [Greater two-horned] was the builder of the rampart, who is mentioned in the glorious Qurân, and whose deeds have been recorded in a former portion of this work.

It is certain from ancient chronicles that Eskandar the Macedonian, who is also called Zulqarneen and Eskandar Rûmi and Yûnâni, was a high potentate, mighty king, and world-conquering sovereign. whose exploits of bravery and liberality are universally known. His victorious army marched from Rûm [Greece] to Khatây [China], to Khotan, and thence to the countries of Hind and Sind, so that his innumerable forces overran mountains and plains, land and seas, and even the ocean. Concerning his birth and epithet of Zulqarneen various opinions are current among historians. Some authorities state that Eskandar was the son of Dârâ the Greater, as has been recorded in the biography of the latter. The same authorities assert that he married Roushang,[243] the daughter of Dârâ the Less, but the author of this work believes it to be highly improbable that a God-fearing and religious king would marry the daughter of his brother, unless it be supposed that in former religions such

[243] Called Roxane by Arrian, Diodorus, and others.

alliances were permitted, which conjecture is likewise not void of improbability. Others relate that Filqûs [Philip] gave his daughter to Azar, the King of Eskandariah [Alexandria], to make an end of the enmity which existed between them, and that some time afterwards the latter dismissed the daughter of the Qaissar for some reason or other when she was pregnant with Eskandar. She was delivered of her son in the desert, and labouring under a hallucination of fear, abandoned her infant. In the vicinity, however, a flock of sheep was grazing, and by the inspiration of the Creator of men a ewe left from time to time the herd and suckled Eskandar. An intelligent old woman in charge of the flock took notice of the periodical absence of the sheep, followed her, and was rejoiced at the discovery of the infant, whom she took to her house and brought him up. When Eskandar had attained the proper age she entrusted him to the care of a teacher, by whom he was in a short time adorned with the decorations of politeness and literary accomplishments. Meanwhile the governor of that country took umbrage at the teacher and ordered him into exile. Accordingly both the teacher and his pupil departed, and travelled, but on a certain day they happened to arrive in the town in which the mother of Eskandar dwelt, and her eyes alighting on the countenance of her son, she recognised him. Accordingly she took him to Filqûs and narrated all the circumstances. The Qaissar perceived the indications of bravery and intelligence radiating from the countenance of Eskandar, and examined him concerning his birth. The youth related everything his old nurse had told him, and it transmuted the conjecture of his mother into certainty, at which all of them rejoiced. Filqûs, having no son of his own, lavished all his care on the education of Eskandar, who soon began to manifest the highest talents, and displayed the greatest skill in all affairs of state, so that Filqûs nominated him his successor.

When the royal diadem received new lustre from being placed on Eskandar's head, Filqûs ordered the whole army,

the servants of government, and all subjects to obey his behests. He also advised Eskandar to govern righteously and according to the religion of Islâm, to cherish learned and religious men, to protect widows and orphans, the poor and the helpless. After Filqûs had terminated his admonition he placed Eskandar on the throne, and put the royal crown on his head.

In historical works other statements occur about the descent of Eskandar, but to mention all of them would be long and tedious. According to the Emâm Shams-ud-din Muhammad Bin Mahmûd Shaharruzi, Eskandar was the true son of Filqûs, and his statement in the *Nazhat-ulla-ruâh* runs as follows: After Filqûs had reigned seven years he was suddenly murdered by one of his courtiers named Falûs, who had fallen so violently in love with the spouse of Filqûs and mother of Eskandar that he lost his peace of mind, could find no rest, and abstained even from sleep and food:

Verses: Love subdues even a lion,
And makes him unreasonable;
At times friendship he will show,
At others he is a defiant foe.

Although Falûs offered gold, silver, jewels, and fine clothes to that virtuous lady, and tried various stratagems to initiate an amorous intrigue, her innocence and piety baffled all his attempts. At last he conceived the idea to obtain forcible possession of her by assassinating Filqûs and usurping his kingdom. He watched a long time for an opportunity to execute his unhallowed design, till one day Filqûs despatched an officer with a detachment of warriors to subdue the son of King Fillâtûs, who had rebelled, and sent also Eskandar with troops for the purpose of conquering the city of Berâqûs. When Falûs had ascertained that the army was divided, and that the long-hoped-for opportunity was at hand, he assembled a number of malcontents, with whom he attacked Filqûs so vehemently that when the remainder of the army and the inhabitants of the city came to his aid they found him half killed when they

liberated him. Eskandar happened to return on the very day of the attack, and being informed of what had taken place, he hastened to the royal mansion, where he observed Falûs in the act of taking possession of his mother; for fear, however, of wounding her he abstained from making use of his sword. She then exclaimed: 'If I am the cause of your wavering, know that I am no longer caring for my life, and the sooner you cut down this scoundrel the better.' Accordingly Eskandar nearly killed him with one blow of his scimitar. After that he hastened to the couch of his father, the sun of whose life he found nearly setting, and said: 'Arise and exterminate your enemy with this sword.' Filqûs complied, and killed Falûs with his own hand. Then Filqûs convoked the chiefs of the people and made them inaugurate Eskandar as their king. He likewise called for Aristo [Aristoteles], into whose hands he placed those of Eskandar, and recommended him to advise him; after that he bade farewell to this perishable world.

When Eskandar had terminated the duties of interment and mourning, he rose in the select assembly, and spoke as follows: 'Know ye, O men, that your king, like his predecessors, has departed this life. I am one of yourselves, and have no power over you. I shall aid you in everything you may undertake, and I shall subordinate my wishes to yours. Consider me as your adviser, and elect someone to be your governor who will obey the Creator most, who will be the most kind to the people, and who will be most merciful to the poor and needy; one who will distribute among you with equity the spoils you gain of war, one who will not be seduced by his passions from the duties he owes to his people; one from whose wickedness you need apprehend nothing, and from whose goodness you may hope much.' This speech, however, was extremely long, and is recorded in books on practical philosophy.

As those who were present in the assembly had heard words from Eskandar the like of which fell from no other king, they were astonished, and replied as follows: 'We

have heard thy pleasant words, and we shall act according to the advice thou hast given. We entrust the affairs of the state and of the government to thy far-seeing intellect, and we hope thou wilt govern us during many long years with much sagacity and prosperity; for we know of no man more worthy to govern and to protect us than thyself.' Hereon they arose, and unanimously proclaimed him their king. Eskandar thanked them, sent circulars to all parts of the country inviting all men to acknowledge the unity of God the Most High, and to abstain from idolatry. He also assembled the army, made new appointments therein, regulated the pay, and distributed gifts. When the people saw how he protected the needy, and punished the wicked who transgressed the laws of God, and was in all his dealings righteous, beyond their utmost expectations, they perceived that he would become a great monarch.

As Dârâ, the Emperor of Persia, had been in the habit of levying a yearly tribute of one thousand golden eggs from the father of Eskandar, he now sent ambassadors to receive the customary tax; but Eskandar sent back the answer that the hen which was laying those eggs had died long ago. Although there were at that time many independent kings in Greece, Eskandar managed by kindness and firmness to bring them all under his own control. After that he marched with his victorious banners to the Maghrab [Northern Africa, west of Egypt], the whole of which he subjugated, and then returned to his own country. After that he marched with his glorious army to Egypt, where he built an exceedingly high lighthouse on the shores of the green sea [Mediterranean] in the seventh year of his reign. From that country he marched to Syria, and thence to Armenia. These news made the treacherous Dârâ uneasy, and he sent a mandate to the inhabitants of Fars [a province of Persia] to the following effect: 'The information has reached his majesty that a certain rebel has collected a number of thieves from all sides. Accordingly you are ordered to capture them with their arms and

provisions, and to throw all into the sea, but to send their commander to the imperial court. As the said thief is only a despicable Greek boy, you will have no difficulty in catching him; but if you delay this affair or fail therein, you will not be excused.' Meanwhile Eskandar departed from Armenia, and established his camp on the shores of the Sea of Astokhus [Azof ?], which circumstance still more troubled Dârâ, so that he indited the following letter to Eskandar: 'From Dârâ, the king of kings in this world, who is shining with the sun, upon the head of Eskandar!' But after [this preamble]: 'Be aware that the King of Heaven has granted me dominion over the inhabited world, and has bestowed on me great majesty and power, together with numerous armies! It has been brought to my notice that thou hast gathered around thee a crowd of brigands and thieves, and hast on the strength of their numbers conceived the ambitious hope of subjugating my empire, and of extirpating the reigning dynasty. Such foolish attempts tally well with the stupidity of the Greeks. On the receipt of this letter thou art to repent of thy boldness, and to retrace thy steps. Do not give way to fond imaginations of power and conquest based on thy present wicked attempt, for thou art not yet enrolled in the company of those who are worthy to be addressed or reasoned with by us! Behold, I have sent thee a box full of gold, and a load of sesame grain, that thou mayest form an idea of the wealth and of the army I command. I send thee also a ball to play with, according to thy boyish age, of which it will remind thee, and a scourge to serve for your chastisement.'*

When Eskandar had perused and understood the contents of this letter, he summoned the ambassadors to his presence, and called for the executioner to slay them, although he was in reality not inclined to deprive them of their lives. The envoys exclaimed: 'O king, wilt thou disgrace ambassadors in a manner unheard of in the times of former sovereigns?' But Zulqarneen replied: 'Blame your own master, who calls me a thief, and not a king, and

I shall act like a thief towards you.' They continued: 'Dârâ has neither known nor seen thee, whereas we have had the honour to wait on thee, and have seen thy magnanimity. Have mercy on us, and spare our lives, that we may inform Dârâ of thy wisdom and humanity.' Eskandar replied: 'As you have humbled yourselves, and have appealed to my kindness, I shall pardon you.' Accordingly he ordered the envoys to be released, and treated them kindly, dismissing them with the following letter to Dârâ: 'From Eskandar to him who pretends to be the king of kings, feared by the hosts of heaven and the denizens of the earth!' But after [this preamble]: 'How could such be the case with one who dreads a weak man like Eskandar? Knowest thou not that God bestoweth victory on whom He willest? and that whenever a feeble mortal pretends to be a god, and to overcome the armies of heaven, the Almighty lowers His kingdom to the brink of destruction? How can a mortal, who will die and rot, and will leave his possessions to others, lay claim to be the Deity? I have decided to fight thee, and am marching against thee! I pray to God to grant me the victory, and I worship Him! The letter which thou hast sent me is a record of thy pride, and the gold, with the sesame and the ball and the scourge, I interpret as auspicious signs of success for myself As for the scourge, it implies that I shall chastise you, that I shall become your king, your master, and your high-priest. The ball indicates that I shall subjugate the whole earth, and the gold means that all thy treasures will fall into my possession. As for sesame, it is very plentiful, and its intrinsic nourishing qualities are neither good nor bad. I send thee a box of mustard-seed, that thou mayest taste its bitterness and know my bravery. Thy pride has deceived thee, but my trust is in God. Farewell.'

This letter Eskandar handed to the ambassadors, whom he presented with the gold which Dârâ had sent him. After dismissing them, Eskandar marched to Azarbaijân, where he put to flight the Governor of Dârâ, and most of

his army to the sword. Then he conquered Gailân, on which occasion he heard that his mother was sick; accordingly he departed to Macedonia, but again returned after her recovery. On that occasion he marched against a certain town belonging to Dârâ, but as the inhabitants had closed the gates, he set fire to the place, whereon they cried for mercy, and having been promised lenient treatment, they came out with all kinds of fruits and provisions, which they presented to Eskandar. Then he marched to Fârs, where Dârâ met him with an army more numerous than the leaves of trees. The centre of Eskandar's army consisted of warriors dressed in coats of mail, and when both armies met, they resembled the waves of the Indian Ocean, or two mountains of steel. The air became darkened by the clouds which the soldiers raised, and the clanking of trumpets resembled an earthquake, so that the people imagined the heavens were being rent asunder. The Greek champions rushed to the attack with the shout: 'Aid comes from Allah, and victory is at hand!'[244] The fire of the battle commenced to rage, and the scimitars, which resembled lightning, rained blood. The fight lasted from noon till sunset, at which time Dârâ, perceiving that his best generals had been slain, and his army routed, likewise fled with his staff of courtiers, and left the countless treasures with the stores of war, wherewith he had threatened his antagonist, in the possession of Eskandar. Dârâ took the lead in the flight across a frozen river, and was followed by the remnant of his army; but the ice soon gave way, and great numbers of it perished in the floods. When Dârâ arrived in his capital, he decided that it would be best to propitiate his antagonist, as he was cognizant of the humane disposition of Eskandar. Accordingly he indited a letter, offering to ransom his wife, son, and daughters from Eskandar with all the treasures his ancestors had left him. After Eskandar had perused the letter, he marched towards Dârâ, who, nevertheless, sought refuge with Fûr [Porus], the King of India, who aided him

[244] Qurân, ch. lxi. 13. What an anachronism!

with several thousands of brave warriors, consisting both of infantry and of cavalry, and in comparison to the battle which now ensued, the first had been, as it were, but a child's play. On this occasion two of Dârâ's courtiers were led astray by the baseness of their nature, and by their faithlessness, to conceive the idea of killing their master, on the supposition that they would thereby ingratiate themselves with Eskandar. But Dârâ, who had become aware of their design, reproached them with their ingratitude, and said: 'Be aware that such a deed will profit you nothing with Eskandar, because, although kings may be at enmity with each other, they never fail to slay regicides.' The two miscreants, however, remained deaf to all entreaties, and brought down with their swords Dârâ from the horse which he was riding, Before the King of Persia had expired, Eskandar happened to arrive, and alighting from his charger, looked at the sovereign who had once worn a diadem, wiped the dust from his face, took his head on his own knees, wept, and spoke as follows: 'O king, who lovest me not, and art proud, I swear by the God of heaven and earth that I shall reinstate thee into thy kingdom, and restore to thee all thy treasures. Arise and forget what is past Do not complain of thy misfortunes, because kings ought in their troubles to be more patient than other men. Inform me who were the perpetrators of this deed, that I may punish them.' Dârâ kissed the hand of Eskandar, placed it on his face, moaned, and said: 'O Zulqarneen, yield by no means to the suggestions of pride and tyranny, neither be deceived by the pomp of royalty, since thou hast seen what has become of me. Trust not in prosperity, and be aware of the treachery of this world, which is ever changing. I beseech thee to treat my mother as if she were thy own, my wife as if she were thy sister, and to marry my daughter Roushang.' Eskandar complied with these requests, and after a few minutes Dârâ expired. Zulqarneen then ordered the corpse to be washed with musk and amber, to be dressed in gold and silver embroidered garments, and to be placed in a sarcophagus,

adorned with precious stones and jewels. The corpse was accompanied to the Dukhmâ,[245] as the last resting-place, by an escort of ten thousand men with drawn swords in front of the coffin, with as many, in the rear, on the right, and on the left side of it, Eskandar himself assisting in the procession with the princes and grandees of Persia.

After the termination of the funeral ceremony, Eskandar caused the two murderers of Dârâ to be crucified on two crosses opposite to the Dukhmâ, and ordered his whole army to march in single file between the two crosses. Then he married Roushang, and installed the brother of Dârâ over Fârs, appointing him to be the chief of the ninety-nine governors, who were surnamed the kings of the nations [Mulûk-ut-touâif]. By order of Eskandar, the books on medicine, astronomy and philosophy were translated from the language of Persia into that of Greece, and conveyed to that country. He burnt the religious books of the Magi, and destroyed their fire-temples, removing the priests of that blameworthy religion.

Meanwhile the following letter arrived from his mother: 'From Ruqiâ to the weak Eskandar, who has by the favour of God the Most High overcome his enemies and subjugated their country!' After these words she wrote: 'My son, abstain from vanity and tyranny, because these two qualities will bring thee down from heaven to earth. Be on thy guard from covetousness and indulgence in passions, because they lead to perdition. Send all the spoils which have fallen into thy power in that country to me, with a swift courier.' When Eskandar had perused this letter, he consulted his wise men on the important subject mentioned at the end of the letter; but when they all confessed their inability to explain it, and Eskandar ordered a list of places containing treasures to be drawn up, and sent it to Greece to his mother by a courier, they manifested their admiration at his acuteness, and praised him greatly.

[245] This is the name of the place where Zoroastrians deposit their corpses.

About this time he built a great city near the river Jaihûn, and ordered persons from all regions to settle in that country, which he named Marjâlûs; but it is related that he founded also the cities of Hirat and Samarqand. After completing these affairs, he marched to India, through arduous passes and precipitous mountains, till he reached the capital of Fûr [Porus], the Indian, to whom he sent the following letter: 'O ruler of the country of India, be aware that the Lord Most High — whose name be hallowed—has entrusted me with the duty of governing the inhabitants of the world, and has confided the reins of political and religious affairs to my management. He has exalted my power to the highest zenith of the spheres, and has caused me to trample under foot all who rebel against me. I hereby invite thee to worship the Creator of men and genii, and prohibit thee from paying homage to any other gods. Act up to this advice, and send to my camp the idols in whose adoration thou hast spent thy life and treasure, and be ready to pay tribute to me. Comply with these injunctions, or else I shall devastate thy country with fire and sword.'

When the letter of Zulqarneen arrived at the capital of Fûr, he received it with scorn, and sent back its bearer. Accordingly Eskandar prepared to attack Fûr, and taking refuge with the mercy of the forgiving sovereign, commenced his march. Fûr hastened to meet him with his Indians, a great number of battle-elephants, and wild animals. When Eskandar perceived his antagonists, he was struck with confusion, and knew not how he should fight the Indians, considering that they had elephants and beasts of prey to aid them. He consulted his sages, and men of experience on this subject, but could elicit no advice from them. At last, however, he was divinely inspired to collect all his artisans, and to order them to construct twenty thousand hollow figures of iron, brass, and other metals, all of which they made in the shape of warriors, but filled their cavities with wood and naphtha. When Fûr made his attack, all these figures were put on

fire, so that his elephants, leopards, tigers, and lions rushed against them, but getting entangled, took to flight, whereon the Greek soldiers despatched untold numbers of the antagonists of the religion with the sword, and prostrated them from their saddles to the ground, so that Fûr was compelled to retire within the fortifications of his city.

The next day countless multitudes arrived from the surrounding countries of Hindustân, so that he was again emboldened to sally out, and to try his chance in open battle. This contest lasted twenty days, and champions issued from both parties, who fought in single combat with sword and spear, killing and maiming each other in great numbers. When Eskandar saw that he had in this way lost many of his best warriors, he became depressed in mind, and sent the following message to Fûr: 'What glory can a sovereign reap who daily jeopardizes the lives of many of his warriors, which he is able to spare, if he be only willing? If, therefore, thou art willing, we can make an end to this strife, without the interposition of armed forces, and will thereby for our common advantage save the lives of those unhappy men who are endangering them for our sakes.' Fûr was amazed at this proposal [or, rather, challenge to a duel], because he was of a large and robust stature, whereas Eskandar was rather small and of a contemptible aspect. He therefore gladly accepted the call, and hastened alone into the lists, like a furious lion. Eskandar galloped forward to meet him, and the two kings began their single combat. Whilst they were fighting together Fûr heard a terrible sound—which was in reality the summons for his departure from this world—in his rear, and whilst he turned his head in the direction of it, Eskandar made use of the opportunity, and lifting him out of the saddle with one stroke of the sword, sat down on his breast, and severed his proud head with the scimitar from his body. In consequence of this event, the lamentations of the Hindus became so extravagant that they rose to the uppermost firmament, and their exasperation so great that they resolved to die in battle. Eskandar, however, soon

convinced them that after the death of their king it would be useless to contend with him, and that, as his disposition was very humane, they had nothing to fear from him. All the possessions and treasures of Fûr had fallen into the power of Eskandar, who liberally distributed gifts among all men, and ordered the corpse of Fûr to be buried with great honours.

After that Eskandar marched to the Brahmans, concerning the greatness of whose knowledge and abstinence from the vanities of this world he had heard much. When the Brahmans had been informed of the approach of Eskandar, they sent him the following letter: 'If the cause of your majesty's visiting us be a wish for riches, we inform you that we are all poor and destitute. Our food consists only of grass, and our garments of the skins of animals. But if you are in search of knowledge, of what use is all your pomp and circumstance?' When Eskandar had perused this letter, he ordered the army to remain stationary, and proceeded with a few courtiers to pay a visit to the Brahmans. He found them to be poor and dwelling in mountain-caves, their wives and children being engaged in procuring herbs from the plains. He held many conversations and disputations with the Brahmans on scientific and philosophical subjects, and conceived great esteem for them. He offered them as much treasure and property as they wanted, but they replied: 'We want you to bestow on us only perpetual existence and eternal life.' Eskandar replied: 'To grant such a request is in the power of no man, and the prolongation of my own life not being in my power, that of another is still less so.' The Brahmans continued: 'As your majesty is convinced that every profession is subject to decline, and every prosperity must pass away, why have you undertaken to slay men, to devastate countries, and to collect treasures, all of which you must in course of time again abandon?' Eskandar replied: 'I am commanded by the Most High—whose name be glorified—to promulge the true religion and the straight way, to exterminate infidels, and to punish wicked

men. Had I not been appointed to this mission by the Creator, I would not have left my home; but I am bound to execute His behests, until the time of my death arrives, when I shall depart from this world in the same manner in which I have entered it.' After similar conversations, Eskandar bade farewell to the Brahmâns, and returned to his camp.

In some chronicles it is recorded that after Zulqarneen had vanquished Fûr, he heard that at the other extremity of India there lived a king whose name was Kyd, a sovereign endowed with prudence, justice, and piety, whose realm was in a high state of culture, and subjects civilized. He was said to have governed his army and his subjects in such a manner as to have brought even their sexual and irascible passions under his control, and his age had exceeded nearly three hundred years. Eskandar despatched couriers to him with the following message: 'When my ambassador reaches thee, sit not down if thou art standing; and if thou be on a journey, make haste, or else thou shalt feel my wrath, like many other countries of Hindustân.' When the envoys arrived at the court of Kyd, he received them with great honours, and called Eskandar the king of kings whenever he had occasion to mention his name. With the returning ambassadors he despatched the following message to Eskandar: 'I possess things not existing in the treasury of any king. I have a virgin of unparalleled beauty, a philosopher able to answer all questions, a physician incomparable in the art of maintaining health, and a goblet which always remains full, even if the whole world were to drink therefrom. All these I present to his majesty, with the request to excuse me from personal attendance on account of my age and weakness; but if it must be, I shall make my appearance at his court.' After perusing this epistle, Eskandar was astonished at the rarities mentioned, and sent learned men to Kyd, to see whether the reality tallied with the statement contained therein. The philosophers departed, arriving in due time at the residence of Kyd, the Hindu sovereign, who received

them kindly, and held on the third day a great festival, in which he caused the Greek scholars to sit at his right and the Hindus at his left hand.' They carried on scientific discussions with each other, after the termination whereof the Greeks asked for the promised gifts, which Kyd readily delivered to them, together with many other presents of fine clothes and curiosities. On their arrival at the court of Eskandar, they brought him the above-mentioned gifts, and he admired first of all the great beauty of the lady; then he set about trying the philosopher as follows: He sent him a jug full of oil. Into this the philosopher looked, and after dropping many needles into it, sent it back to Eskandar. The latter then ordered the needles to be melted into a ball, which he despatched to the philosopher, who shaped it into a mirror, which having been brought to Eskandar, he threw it into a basin full of water, and despatched it to the sage, who thereon shaped the mirror into a cup, which he caused to swim in the basin, and sent it back to Eskandar, who in his turn filled the cup with earth, and despatched it to the sage. When the philosopher perceived the earth he wept, lamented, glanced up to the sky, manifested signs of grief and repentance, but at last beckoned to the messenger to take away the basin with the cup to Eskandar. Zulqarneen was much astonished, but communicated the mystery to no one.

The next day Eskandar assembled his court, and ordered the Hindu philosopher, with whom he had not yet had a personal interview, to be brought to his presence. He found the sage to be of a tall stature and robust constitution, and conjectured that such qualities were not peculiar to philosophers, but nevertheless thought within himself that if, in conjunction with them, this individual was also endowed with acuteness of intellect and quickness of perception, he must be a great phenomenon of his time. The philosopher guessed the surmise of Eskandar, drew his finger around his countenance, and then placed it on his nose. When Zulqarneen asked for the meaning of this pan-

tomima, the sage replied: 'I have understood the thoughts of his majesty concerning my physical appearance, and have by my motions indicated that, in the same manner, as there is but one nose in a man's countenance, so I am a paragon without an equal in the world.'

Eskandar: Tell me what I meant by the goblet of oil?

Philosopher: I understood that your majesty intended thereby to convey to me the message that your majesty's mind is so filled with knowledge and wisdom as not to allow of any further increase, in the same manner as the goblet was incapable to hold any more of the liquid. But by dropping the needles into the oil, I indicated that your majesty might possibly add more to the treasures of knowledge accumulated in your mind, in the same manner as there was still room for the needles in the goblet full of oil.

Eskandar: What was the meaning of the ball?

Philosopher: By the ball your majesty intended to convey the following message · My heart is so fully engrossed with warlike and political affairs, that it is isolated from all other matters in the same manner as the rotundity and compactness of the ball, and is incapable of engaging in philosophical researches. By forming that ball into a mirror I indicated that, although iron is hard and compact, it may by careful treatment be made capable of receiving on its polished surface the images of visible objects.

Eskandar: Tell me the signification of my placing the mirror into the basin of water, and of the goblet you caused to float thereon?

Philosopher: I understood the sinking of the mirror in the water to mean that our lives terminate after a short time, and that much knowledge cannot be acquired during that brief season. By fabricating the cup I implied that, in the same manner as by skill a substance which sinks in the water may be made to float thereon, so also great acquisitions of knowledge may be gained in a short time by diligence and perseverance.

Eskandar: I filled the cup with earth, and sent it to you, but received no answer!

Philosopher : The fall of every kingdom must ensue in course of time; there is no permanent abode on earth for any created beings, all of whom must finally rejoin their mother-earth.

Eskandar : You have spoken the truth, and I consider the circumstance of having met you to be the greatest advantage I have obtained from my coming to the country of India.

After this conversation Zulqarneen honoured the philosopher by presenting him with costly dresses of honour and rare gifts, whereby he exalted him above all his contemporaries and friends. Masu'di relates that this philosopher remained in attendance on Eskandar during his whole sojourn in India, and that on the departure of the latter he asked his majesty for a lock of hair, which request was graciously complied with.

It is related that Zulqarneen filled the [above-described wonderful] goblet with water, and caused everybody to drink therefrom without its contents being diminished. He also examined the physician, and received from him wonderful explanations concerning the art of healing, to such an extent that it would be impossible to record them.

In the *Târikh-i-Hukmâ* it is narrated that after his conquest of India Eskandar departed, and marched to China, with the emperor of which country he waged a great war until he finally subjugated him. This new vassal thereon sent the following presents: 'One thousand mauns of pure gold, one thousand pieces of white silk cloth, five thousand robes of gold brocade, one hundred swords with hilts, inlaid with precious stones, the sight of which amazed those who beheld them; one hundred horses that vied with the wind in celerity; one hundred saddles, embroidered with costly gems; one hundred heaps of pale amber, one thousand misqâls of musk, nine rattals of lignum-aloe, many vessels of porcelain, pictures and figures, which persons who once saw them would never dismiss from their hearts; skins of sables, beavers, and ermines, several thousands of

each kind, together with many other things. These offerings the Emperor of China delivered with great apologies, and obtained in return a written treaty from Eskandar to guide the Chinese in their dealings. After terminating his expedition to China, Zulqarneen vanquished all the countries of the East, and regulated the taxes which they were to pay; and, lastly, having founded several cities in Turkestan, he hastened Westwards.

CONSULTATION OF ESKANDAR WITH ARISTO [ARISTOTELES] CONCERNING THE ROYAL PRINCES OF PERSIA.

It is related in the *Târikh Moa'jum* that when Eskandar subjugated the countries of Persia he captured and imprisoned many Persian princes, and said to Aristo on that occasion: 'I have conquered Persia, not by my own prowess, but I have attained that happiness by the aid and favour of God. I incited good people to walk in the straight path, and pointed out to the ignorant the lights of guidance. In governing my subjects I have followed the directions of reason and have never overstepped its landmarks. But I entertain misgivings concerning the royal scions whom I have imprisoned, for if I liberate them they may possibly excite troubles, which I would be unable to quell; but if I slay them I shall be blamed in this, and punished in the next, world.' Aristo replied: 'The surmises of your majesty are quite true; therefore it will be expedient to appoint each of them over a separate portion of the kingdom, and to make them independent of each other, in order to forestall any coalition among them.' Eskandar fully approved of the opinion of the philosopher, and installed each prince over a division of the realm. Historians call these princes *Mulûk-ut-toudif* [*i.e.*, kings of the nations], whose history will be inserted in this work after the record of the philosophers, in conformity with the exalted mind [of A'li Shir, the Amir of Hirat], if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

At the end of the *Tarjumât Hukmâ* it is related that during his marches Eskandar happened to arrive in a

village the houses whereof were all of the same height, and each of which contained a ready-made sepulchre, and the inhabitants had neither a governor nor a Qâzi. When Eskandar examined them on these subjects, they replied: 'Men are always vying with each other, who will be greater; but no such rivalry exists among us, therefore all the houses are equal, and we require no magistrate. We keep the graves before our eyes to remind us of death, and of the transitoriness of this life.'[246] Eskandar continued: 'If I were to give you a more agreeable place than this, would you emigrate to it?' They replied: 'We request your majesty to ward off death from us.' Eskandar said: 'If such a thing were in the power of any man, it would be in mine.' They continued: 'As so powerful a king is unable to aid us in this matter, we would pray that we be allowed to remain in the position we are, for there is some pleasure to live in the place where we were born and educated.'

It is also related that during his conquests Eskandar arrived in a city which had been governed by seven kings, the sons succeeding their fathers When Eskandar asked whether any one of that dynasty was yet alive, he obtained the information that a young man, who had abdicated the kingdom, was dwelling in the cemetery. Eskandar then paid him a visit with some of his courtiers, asked him why he had abandoned the royal power, dwelt in the burying-ground, and had no desire to engage in government affairs. The royal prince observed: 'O king! I am occupied with a business which entirely absorbs my attention, so that I can spare none for the affairs of government.' Zulqarneen said: 'If you are engaged in anything besides the contemplation of rotten bones let me know it.' The royal prince said: 'When I considered the world and its transitoriness I kept aloof from mankind, and selected a cemetery for my abode. It is a long time since I am trying to separate the bones of kings from those of slaves and mean

[246] The above passage occurs also in the *A'jâib-ul-buldân* [Wonders of Countries] of Qazvini.

persons, but I am unable to do so.' Zulqarneen replied: 'Such a distinction no one can make except God the Most High. If, however, you promise allegiance to me I shall restore you to the rank of your ancestors.' The youth said: 'My aim is higher! I seek life without death, youth without old age, riches without poverty, joy without grief, a lover without fraud, and society without *ennui*.' Eskandar rejoined: 'How can you ask these things from me?' The prince said: 'I seek them from Him with whom I can find them.'

On a certain occasion his grandees said to Eskandar: 'Your majesty's realm is very extensive, and you ought, for the sake of begetting a copious progeny, to court the society of women, that your dominions may not fall into the possession of strangers.' Zulqarneen replied: 'It is not proper that one who had always been accustomed to vanquish men should be conquered by women.' One day a man dressed in rags arrived at his court, who began to deliver a very fluent and highly eloquent speech; Eskandar, however, gave him an unfavourable answer, and said: 'If thou hadst dressed thy body in garments as elegant as the expressions of thy address, it would have been better.' The man replied: 'Your servant has a great command of words, but not of clothes.' This sally pleased Eskandar highly, and he presented him with a rich dress.

In one of his battles a multitude of women attacked him, but he refrained from hurting them, and said: 'Verily this is an army, of the victory over which we would not be allowed to boast if we happened to gain it, and if we should be conquered by it—which God forbid—we would reap nothing but the deepest shame, and our defeat would survive as a proverb till the end of all time.'

Zaitûn the poet asked one day ten thousand dinars from Eskandar, who replied: 'This sum exceeds somewhat thy deserts.' The poet rejoined: 'But it falls much below the resources of your majesty.' Then Eskandar granted him the money.

Eskandar asked a sage what the constant occupation of a

king ought to be. The philosopher replied: 'He ought to meditate all night on the means for procuring happiness to his subjects, and ought to be engaged all day in carrying those means into practice.' When Eskandar was asked in what cases he took most pleasure to exert his power, he replied: 'In cases which enable me to augment the resources and power of individuals who have acted well towards me.' On being expostulated with for exposing his person to danger in battle, he answered: 'It is not right that others should jeopardize their lives for my sake whilst I keep aloof from danger.' On a certain occasion two of his courtiers quarrelled with each other, and requested him to settle the dispute. He replied: 'If I give judgment it will certainly be in favour of one of you, and to the disadvantage of the other; but a sense of duty will keep both of you thankful and at peace with each other.' When a battle was impending with Dârâ, some of Eskandar's advisers tried to dissuade him from engaging in the combat, and stated that the army of the enemy amounted to more than three hundred thousand men, but he replied: 'A quick and dexterous butcher is never afraid of a multitude of sheep.' Being asked why he loved his teacher more than his father, he said. 'The former is the cause of my eternal, and the latter of my present life; one has pulled me down from heaven to earth, and the other is guiding me from earth to heaven.' When some of his generals requested Eskandar to attack the Persian army in the night, by way of surprise, he replied: 'I do not mean to conquer the enemy by stratagem and unawares.'

The following are some of the maxims attributed to Eskandar: 'A man of noble disposition is honoured even in his poverty, and a mean fellow is despised even if he be rich.' Being asked what is bad, he replied: 'To speak about a thing and not to do it', and being asked what is good, he said: 'To do a thing before speaking about it.' He also said: 'A man stands more in need of sense than of wealth.'

Record of the Death of Eskandar.

According to the horoscope of Eskandar, the astrologers had predicted that at the time of his majesty's death the earth beneath him would be of iron, and the sky above him of gold. After Eskandar had terminated his conquests, and was on his march back to Greece, he happened in the vicinity of Qômus to be somewhat in advance of his baggage; and being suddenly attacked by a violent hemorrhage, there was no other remedy but to use the coat of mail of one of the generals as his bed, and his golden buckler as an umbrella, to ward off the rays of the sun. On this occasion Eskandar said: 'Here is the earth of iron and the heaven of gold, as foretold by the astrologers, and my life has reached its term.'

Distich: Alas! the stock of youth is spent,
I know not how it came, nor how it went.

Then Eskandar called for a scribe, and indited to him the following epistle to his mother: 'This is the letter of the servant of God, Eskandar—who has for a short time associated with the inhabitants of this, but will for ever remain with those of the next world—to his mother, whom he has never forgotten during his absence in foreign countries, and whom he will, God willing, rejoin in the world of light and of joy, where he will never be separated from her any more' This, however, is a long letter, and is recorded in detail in large historical works

When the great conqueror departed this life, and answered the summons of his Creator, his august body was, according to his own injunctions, after the customary ablution and shrouding, placed into a sarcophagus of gold, which the chiefs took up and carried into the assembly of the people, wherein one of the generals arose and spoke as follows: 'If anyone be inclined to weep, let him weep on account of the decrees of God; and if anyone wishes to be amazed, let him be astonished at the decrees of God concerning the death of our king.' After these words he

turned to the philosophers and requested them to say something for the consolation of the high and the low people. Accordingly one of the disciples of Aristo rose, and taking hold of the hand of Eskandar—which had by his own command been left without the coffin, to inform the people that, as he had arrived with empty hands in the world, he also departed therefrom in the same way—and placing it on his head, he spoke as follows: 'O sweet-spoken orator, what has made thee so dumb? What has, despite of thy vast stores of knowledge and wisdom, decoyed thee like heedless game into this narrow prison-house? Yesterday Eskandar concealed silver and gold from the sight of men, and to-day fate conceals Eskandar like silver and gold from theirs! This is he who was but yesterday the powerful sovereign of mankind, whom all feared to address; to-day all may speak to him, but he has not the power to hear or to reply. This is the monarch who encompassed the east and the west by his conquests, but now he is encompassed by two yards of earth. Yesterday Eskandar had governed the world by the breath of his nostrils, but to-day he is incapable of taking care of himself. Praise be therefore to Him, besides whom nothing else can endure!'

After each philosopher had said something, according to the measure of his ability, the corpse of Eskandar was despatched to Eskandaria [Alexandria], the inhabitants whereof came forth to meet it with great solemnity. When the mother of Zulqarneen beheld the remains of her son, she wept bitterly, and exclaimed: 'O darling of my soul, whose wisdom and knowledge reached heaven, and who has subjugated the world! I wonder how he has fallen asleep and cannot awake? How is he so silent and utters not a word? Who will tell it to Zulqarneen, that as he has given me advice, I received it; that he gave me consolation, and I was comforted; that he had recommended to me patience, and I bore with everything?' At these words a company of wise men made their appearance, and proffering their condolence, delivered suitable speeches, full of

salutary advice, and committed the body to the earth. When the sorrowing mother of Eskandar returned to her house, she had prepared a funeral repast, together with the great ladies of the realm, according to the testamentary injunction of her son, that only such persons should partake of the food who had never experienced grief and sorrow from the loss of relatives by death. But there being no individual among all present who had not to deplore the loss of some member of his family, everyone rose without touching the meal; and when the mother of Eskandar had been informed of this circumstance, she inferred that her son's injunction implied a consolation, and that she ought to restrain her grief, because innumerable persons had to mourn for similar reasons, according to the proverb: 'When the evil is universal, it abates.' Therefore she moderated her sorrow, and, bowing to the Divine will, said: 'Eternal life belongs to God alone'; and, 'He is the living One, who neither decreases nor dies'; and, 'Unto Allah we belong, and to Him we must surely return.'[247]

In the *Târikh Hukmâ* it is recorded that Eskandar's physiognomy resembled neither that of his father nor of his mother, that his complexion was yellowish, that one of his eyes was black and the other blue, and that one of them always looked upwards, whilst the other was cast down. His teeth were small but sharp, and his countenance resembled that of a lion. He was distinguished by valour from childhood, and began to reign in his nineteenth year. The duration of his government amounted to seventeen years, nine whereof he spent in turmoil and war, but eight in rest and tranquillity of heart. He attained dominion over twenty-two large kingdoms in the east, west, south and north. He had among his relatives thirteen kings, who served him in person at all times. He travelled in two years over the greater part of the inhabited world, and examined all its curiosities, the description whereof would take up a long time. With three hundred

[247] Qurân, ch. ii. 151.

and seventy thousand men he conquered the entire East and West, but was at last compelled to leave the dominion of the world to others, and could, of all the treasures which he had acquired, at last take nothing with him except a few yards of cloth. 'Every age hath its book [of revelation]. Allah shall abolish and shall confirm [what he pleaseth]. With Him is the original of the book.'

It is related in the *Ghoniah* that there is a difference of opinion concerning the name of Eskandar. Some assert that he was called Zulqarneen [two-horned] because he was a prophet sent to a nation, but that he was accused of falsehood, struck upon one of the horns [*i.e.*, temples] of his head and slain; that, however, God resuscitated him, and he was surnamed Zulqarneen; and this tradition is ascribed to A'li. It is also said that he was thus called because God had sent him to one section of a nation which accused him of falsehood, but was destroyed by God, who then despatched him to another section. Some assert that he had been surnamed Zulqarneen because the temporal sides of his head were of copper, but according to others of brass, or iron, or gold. God, however, is most wise! Wuhub Bin Muniah states that he was called Zulqarneen because he possessed Persia and Rûm, it is also said because he reached the horns [*i.e.*, extremities] of the world, namely, in the East and the West It is also related that he had dreamt of having taken hold of the horns [*i.e.*, both sides] of the sun, and that, having asked interpreters, they informed him of his going to become the lord of the whole earth. It is also said that he had two protuberances on his head, which were called horns. Here ends the quotation from the *Ghoniah*. Others maintain that he was called Zulqarneen because he reigned sixty years, which make two generations. Others insist that he was called thus because he had two long ears. There are yet other opinions, which [if inserted] would only carry this discussion to an undue length.

BIOGRAPHIES OF PHILOSOPHERS.[358]

Let it not remain unknown to the intelligent reader that the author of this work was for a long time hesitating where to insert the lives of the philosophers, so as not to incur criticism; having, however, been unable to arrive at a decision, he submitted to the sunlike mind of the exalted Amir, that if Eskandar and Aristo were now living, they would imitate him in the protection of learned men and philosophers, whereon his highness—flattered by the compliment in conformity with his good nature—immediately replied: 'As most of the celebrated philosophers, such as Aflatûn [Plato] and Aristo, were contemporaries of Eskandar, and in personal attendance upon him, because he cherished them more than any former kings, therefore it will be suitable to append also their biographies to his own.' As the author fully agreed with this opinion, he commences the task, and premises the following two distichs, alluding to our excellent Amir:

Though coins do not bear your name,
It is imprinted on our hearts;
Sea and land pervades your fame
Without the herald's clumsy arts.

As the Emâm Shams-ud-din Muhammad Shaharûzzi—may Allah give rest to his spirit—the author of the *Târikh Hukmâ*, begins his work called *Nuzhat-ulqulûb* [Hearts' Delight], which contains the biographies of philosophers, with the lives of Adam, of Sheth [Seth], and of Edris [Enoch], the author of the present work has followed his precedent without dreading to incur the reproach of iteration.

ADAM.

The above-named Emâm relates that on the first day, namely, on the day of Saturn, after the inhabitants of the earth had been destroyed by the deluge, Adam made his

[358] These biographies are curious specimens of the knowledge of the Moslems in the fifteenth century A.D.—EDITOR.

appearance, and was the first man who invented various handicrafts, together with the tools necessary for their pursuits, and who taught them to his children. The same author states that he had seen various literary compositions of Adam—peace be on him—and had profited by their perusal. He also relates that Adam lived a very long time, enjoyed great power, as well as high dignity, and was, moreover, the first of the prophets and apostles of God.

SHETH—GREETING TO HIM.

Sheth was the son of Adam, and the teacher of Edris [Enoch]. The Sabians acknowledge him to be a prophet, and consider themselves to be his descendants. They possess a book consisting of one hundred and twenty chapters, which they call the first [collection of] Psalms. The following are some of the sayings of Sheth: 'The best of pleasures is an open heart and a noble mind.—The best deeds and words are those which entail praise in this, and salvation in the next world.—Silence is better than conversation with fools, and solitude is better than the company of the wicked.' Sheth was one of the sons of Adam, the youngest in age, but the greatest in intellect.

The following are also of his sayings: 'He whom God has distinguished by wealth and prosperity, ought not to be proud, nor to exalt himself above others, and ought only by his good acts to incline the needy to be thankful and humble towards him, because the rich and the poor are equal in the sight of God, and bound to serve Him.—When you are angry, restrain your tongue from uttering words which will afterwards cause you to blush for shame.—The greatest misfortune of a man is his want of prudence and wisdom, and his remissness in trying to acquire them.—The acts of a man are the index of his character, and not his fine clothes, nor large body.—He is an intelligent king who abstains from manifesting antagonism towards another king who is not able to resist him.'

Asfilsûf.

He was one of the disciples of Edris—o. w. p.—always accompanied him, and greatly profited in wisdom from that mine of prophecy. When Edris had returned from India, and arrived in Persia, he sent Asfilsûf to Babel to establish the ordinances and commandments of religion, in which mission he laboured for a long time, elevating the banners of the religion, until he bade farewell to life in accordance with the decree of fate. The following are some of his sayings: 'A learned man without works, and a pious man without knowledge, resemble the donkey who toils day and night turning a millstone, but is not aware for what purpose he is doing so.—It is better for one's reputation to miss aid altogether, than to ask it from a person unable to afford it.—I am astonished at him who abstains from eating noxious food for fear of disease, but refrains not from transgressions, which will bring upon him punishment in the next world.'

Solon the Philosopher.

He was born in Atheneh, which is known as the city of sages, and was the grandfather of the noble Aflatûn. He was so eloquent of speech that the people called his words the openers of hearts. He nevertheless fled, being persecuted by the mob, and quaffed during his exile the beverage of death in conformity with the saying: 'Every soul must taste death.' Some of his maxims are as follows. 'The best thing in the power of kings is the alleviation of the bitterness of punishments, and the lightening of the burdens of the people.—When a man falls into distress he is not to consult a poverty-stricken wretch on the best manner of bettering his circumstances, because the advice of such a person will tend more to evil than to good.' Having been asked the following [three] questions: Who is liberal? what is worse than the sword? and what ought to be the chastisement of a parricide? he replied: 'He is liberal who gives away what he himself covets, and

covets no other man's property. The tongues of those orators and poets who perpetuate a man's bad repute are worse than swords; but as for a parricide, I never thought about one, and I know of no chastisement suitable for him.' One day he said to a man pluming himself on his wealth: 'No one is able to deprive me of my wealth either by force or by flattery, and the more I spend of it, the more fruit it bears, and no diminution of the original stock ensues. Your wealth will, however, some day be enjoyed by others, and spending decreases it. Worldly goods are perishable, and eternal salvation cannot be acquired except by doing good to others, and abstaining from indulgence in passions.' His abstemiousness and trust in Providence were such that he never dared to keep a greater store of provisions than was sufficient to maintain him more than one day. When he was told that the king harboured enmity towards him, he replied: 'Is there a king in existence who does not hate a man more independent and happy than himself?'

FITHAGHORATH [PYTHAGORAS] THE SAGE.

He was a native of Sûr [Sidon], and was a great traveller. He advised people to acquire knowledge and to practise it; to be just, amicable, refraining from sin, eager to become acquainted with the physical properties of all substances, to practise love and friendship towards each other, and to live innocently. He taught people to fight infidels, to sit on chairs, to be diligent in reading instructive books, and to educate their females He also broached the doctrine of the immortality of the soul after its separation from the body, and its capability of enjoying in that state pleasure, or suffering pain, and obtaining rewards or punishments. He never gave way to excess in any passion, nor did anyone ever see him weep or laugh. He was the first who advocated community of possessions among friends. He taught philosophy by enigmas, and kept it secret. When the inhabitants of Sûr emigrated on account of the occupation of their country by enemies, the father of Fithaghorath went with his children and friends to the

town of Sûs, and lived there for some time with honour and dignity. From Sûs they afterwards travelled to Antaqiah, the governors of which city adopted Fithaghorath as their son, and entrusted him to a tutor, who instructed him in the science of language, the humanities, and music. When he had attained the age of discretion, he was sent to Malitûn, who was one of the greatest philosophers, and he remained with him till his thirtieth year, to study geometry and astronomy. When he had attained proficiency in these sciences, he followed his impulse to study philosophy, in the pursuit whereof he travelled to many cities. Having gone to Egypt, he cultivated intercourse with the priests of that country, and zealously applied himself to the study of various philosophical problems. From the said priests he learnt also three different kinds of writing, namely, the usual characters, those of the priests, and of the kings At last he intended to become a guide to mankind, admonished people to abstain from sin and wickedness, and from believing in superstitions. When he again returned to Sûs the citizens prepared a handsome school-house for him, and so diligently attended his lectures that they became in a short time noted for their proficiency in the science of philosophy. All classes, the poor and the rich, simple and gentle, the young and the old, profited by his instruction, and hastened from the quicksands of wickedness to the shores of safety. Most of the kings who reigned in the adjoining countries paid him visits, and he was so prolific a writer that he is said to have composed more than two hundred and eighty different works on various scientific subjects.

Towards the close of his life he had to undertake journeys to various places, and when he reached any city, he alighted at the mansion of some grandee, where crowds assembled to welcome him. On a certain occasion an individual of high lineage, and distinguished above his peers by his great wealth, made his appearance in an assembly, and began, according to the custom of fools, to praise his own self, committing also various other breaches of civility.

Fithaghorath reflected on the badness of his manners, and advised him to mend them, but met with an evil requital, because the overweening folly and impudence of the just-mentioned individual induced him to assemble a number of his adherents, and to rush upon Fithaghorath with a volley of insulting expressions; and when a number of the disciples of the sage attempted to interfere, a combat ensued, in which forty of them lost their lives, and the remainder fled. The inhabitants of the city then conveyed Fithaghorath out of it in disguise, during the night, with an escort. He was nevertheless pursued by his enemies from town to town, until he finally took refuge in a castle which he fortified. When his assailants despaired of being able to take the place by assault, they collected a great quantity of wood and of naphtha, which they heaped up around the castle, and set on fire. The philosopher was surrounded by his disciples, who sheltered him with their bodies, but the exceeding heat and debility of his body caused him to fall into a swoon, from which he never recovered. 'For the command of Allah is a determinate decree.'[249]

Some of his sayings are as follow: 'What pleasure can people gain in talking about nice things which they may never possess?—While the pure spirit is a captive in the prison-house of the passions [*i.e*, in the body], he is more ashamed of himself than of them—Watch so as not to allow forbidden things to enter your hearts.—The admonitions of a man's own conscience are more efficacious than those of his friends.—Love him more who informs you of your faults, than him who deceives you with false praises. —You must always do what you ought, and not what you like.—Most of the evils which befall animals are attributable to their want of speech, and those which befall men to their possession of it.' One day he saw an individual dressed in rich garments, but committing many errors against grammar, precisely as the grandees of our own time are in the habit of doing. To him he said: 'Friend, either speak in conformity with your dress, or

[249] Qurân, ch. xxxiii. 38.

wear a dress in conformity with your language.' To an ignorant old man, who was ashamed to apply himself to the acquisition of knowledge, he said: 'Would you be ashamed to be accounted more learned at the end of your life, than in the beginning of it?' It is related that his wife happened to die on a journey, and that when his acquaintances came forward to condole with him on the hardship of dying far from one's country, he replied: 'Brothers, there is no difference between death in the town or out of it, the road to eternity being everywhere the same.' One day he said to a youth who was negligent in his studies: 'Young man, if you do not take patience and diligence for your motto at present, you will in your old age have to bear with trouble and discomfort.' The following is also one of his sayings: 'He is beloved by God the Most High who does not indulge in wicked thoughts, and does not obey criminal impulses. He has a right to deliver speeches on the attributes of the Most High, who prefers to such speeches good deeds, whereby he gains the approbation of God.'

SOQRÂT [SOCRATES] THE RECLUSE.

His birthplace was the city of sages. When his friends solicited him to marry, for the sake of begetting a progeny, and urged him much, he replied: 'If there be no escape from matrimony, I shall take a woman notorious for her stupidity and remarkable for her domineering spirit, so that by patiently schooling myself to suffer her tyranny, I may accustom myself to bear with the follies of high and low people.' His regard for wisdom was so great that he made the acquisition thereof difficult to posterity by prohibiting his disciples to write down any of its maxims, and declaring that, as wisdom is pure and holy, it ought to have no other abode except the breasts of living men, so that the consigning of it to dead skins [parchments] and withered hearts would be blamable. Accordingly he composed no book, and delivered all his lectures extempore, because he had himself likewise received all his instruction

only orally from his teacher. He had asked the latter why he would not allow him to note down what fell from him, but he replied: 'I never say that you should transfer knowledge from a living heart to the skins of dead animals. In like manner, if a person were to ask you something on the road, or to put you a question, it would not look well if you were to tell him that you must return home to inspect your books, but you would rather call your memory to your assistance.'

Soqrât followed the advice of his teacher, and attained the highest proficiency in philosophy. He preferred silence and solitude to the futilities of the world, being contented with his shattered house and termagant wife, in lieu of a palace and a Hûri. It was customary with Greek kings that, when they were under the necessity of waging war against their enemies, they took with them the philosophers of the time for a blessing and good luck. According to that usage, the reigning king caused Soqrât to accompany him on a certain expedition, so that at each halting-place the tent of the sage was likewise pitched. One day the king happened to pass near the aperture of the tent, and saw the philosopher warming himself in the sun. The king asked: 'What hinders you from keeping us company?'

Soqrât: My occupation is to acquire the necessaries of life.

King: If you come to me I shall give you what you require.

Soqrât: If I had desired that a king should supply my wants I would never have left your service.

King: I have been informed that you despise idols.

Soqrât: I do not say that, but I assert that idolatry is lucrative to your majesty, because the affairs of your subjects may possibly prosper thereby, and taxes can be levied. But as I know that I have a Creator who provides for my wants, and who is able to reward the good, and to punish the wicked, I do not worship idols and inorganic matter.

King: Have you any request to make?

Soqrât: Yes: that you move away from this place

because your majesty's person keeps off the rays of the sun from me.[280]

The king then ordered a rich dress and plenty of jewels to be given to him, but Soqrât replied: 'His majesty's promises are concerning the things of this world, but he cares not for those of the next. I stand in need of no such toys as stones and rags, and I have found what I required, when I discovered the arcana of wisdom. He who desires to attain eternal happiness must, according to his utmost capacity, abstain from all evil passions and manifestations of physical power. A man's house will never become illuminated unless he shuts its five windows, that is to say, his soul will not become purified unless he subjugates his five senses.' He also said: 'Do not overstep the measure, *i.e.*, be just; and be not an ant in the evening, *i.e.*, be not greedy to accumulate riches in old age. There is no period of time which has not its vernal season, *i.e.*, the acquisition of knowledge is never unseasonable.

When the chief priests heard that Soqrât was admonishing the people to abandon idolatry and to worship the only true God, they issued a judicial decree with the intention of depriving him of life, and persisted in their efforts—although they knew that the king was well disposed towards him—because they were convinced that even royal authority was bound to yield to the decision of the judge of Atheniah. His majesty nevertheless attempted to save the life of the philosopher, requesting him to cease his exhortations; but as he refused to comply, the king said: 'You have incurred the penalty of death, and I cannot endanger the tranquillity of the kingdom for your sake. Select the mode of death which you think to be the easiest.' Soqrât chose poison, and the king assented. On that occasion the king had despatched a ship to Hengava to bring him some things he needed, and in those times it was a law not to shed the blood of any person before the ship had returned. It happened, however, that the arrival of the ship had been delayed by

[280] Diogenes proffered this request to Alexander the Great, and not Socrates.

contrary winds, so that [time was gained, and] Afritûn, who was a disciple of Soqrât and a man of great property, represented that he had, at his own expense, fitted out a ship by which he might escape to Rûmiah. But Soqrât refused, on the plea that his own property did not amount even to four hundred dirhems, which would not suffice to repay the outlay of Afritûn; and when the latter removed this objection by avowing that he and his friends were ready to sacrifice for Soqrât not merely all their wealth, but also their lives, the latter said: 'This city is the place of my birth, and my antagonists are my own countrymen and acquaintances, who have brought all this trouble upon me because I tried to persuade them to abandon idolatry, and to worship the only true God. My principles will remain the same wherever I may go, and the citizens of Rûmiah are not less unprejudiced than those of Atheniah. If I had to endure such persecution from my own people, what can I expect from the inhabitants of Rûmiah?' Afritûn replied: 'Consider the distress into which your family and children will fall.' Soqrât rejoined: 'They will not perish among you.'

On the day after the return of the ship priests and idolaters visited him, remained awhile, took off his fetters, and departed. The gaolers then admitted his disciples, and removed Soqrât from his couch, who began to rub his legs, which had been injured by the heavy chains, and said: 'How marvellous is the providence of God, which associates contrasts, so that no pleasure may be enjoyed without its counterbalancing pain.' These words became a thesis of discussion to them, and the students began asking questions. Some of his more advanced disciples proposed questions on spiritual matters, which he solved in such a manner as to leave no longer any doubts in their minds. He was as cheerful as usual, and not at all distressed on account of the impending separation from his friends, nor did the apprehension of his approaching death disquiet his mind in the least. Whilst all present admired his equanimity, and were loath to part with him, Soqrât spake as follows: 'Between the state in which I now am and my ordinary

position I make no distinction, because although I shall be compelled to part with many beloved companions, I shall rejoin others who have preceded me in their journey to the next world.'

After they had terminated their discussion concerning the soul, they conversed about the structure of the universe, the motions of the heavenly bodies, and the elements; and having satisfied them on these points, Soqrât calmly expounded to them some theological principles and divine arcana. Then he said: 'The time is at hand for the religious ablution and prayers, which will save the people the trouble of washing my body after I am dead. Now you may return to your homes.' After having terminated his ablution and prayer he again came out, called for his friends and children, of whom he took leave. Then his executioners entered one of whom presented him with the cup of poison, performed an act of prostration, apologized to Soqrât, and said 'I am aware that I have injured thee, but I acted by command. He who acts thus ought to be excused, and you must drink this [poison].' Having said these words, he went out, and after Soqrât had swallowed the potion his disciples uttered shouts of lamentation; but he said: 'I have sent away the females to spare myself the noisy grief to which they would give way in consequence of their weak constitution, but now I behold men acting like women.' He continued to walk about until the poison had taken effect, whereon weakness overpowered him, so that he was unable to move. Accordingly he sat down, a slave rubbed both his legs, and he engaged in prayer to the Almighty.

On that occasion Afritûn requested him to inform him of his last wish, but Soqrât replied: 'Be contented with the advice and instruction you have received from me ere this,' and taking hold of his friend's hand, placed it on his own face, opened his eyes, and said: 'I surrender my life to the grasper of souls. "To Allah we belong, and unto Him we return."'[251]

[251] Qurân, ch. ii. 151.

It is related that Soqrât was a very devout man, given to solitude, abstemious in eating and drinking, and frequently remembering death, of which he was not in the least afraid. He attained the age of one hundred and nine years, and left twelve thousand disciples. O God, have mercy on him! The following are some of his sayings: 'A noble mind can be discerned from a base one, inasmuch as the former is eager to embrace truth, and the latter falsehood.—When a man abstains from speaking on a science concerning the truth whereof he has no knowledge, strife concerning it will subside among men, and the flames of contention will die away.—Be on your guard of anyone whom your heart points out as an enemy.—He is a man of perfect understanding, of whom his enemies need apprehend nothing, and not he whom even his friends most dread.—Worldly occupations resemble a fire made on the road; whoever takes up only as much of it as suffices to enable him to pursue his journey is safe, but whoever covets more of it may be burnt thereby.'

Aflatûn [Plato] the divine was one of his disciples, and having to undertake a journey on a certain occasion, he waited on his master to take leave, and to ask for instructions. Soqrât said: 'Be not suspicious of one you know, but be suspicious of a person you know not, even if he should attach himself to you during your journey as a servant; beware, however, of giving way to ill-humour on account of that Whenever you make a halt for the night, remain in your place. Eat not vegetables with the nature whereof you are not acquainted. Be not deceived by the pretended short-cuts of unknown roads, nor tired of the monotony of well-known highways.' To another of his disciples Soqrât said: 'My son, if the society of women be indispensable to you, use it like carrion food, of which no one partakes more than necessity compels him; and if he does [the contrary], he not only falls sick, but dies.' Once Soqrât happened to travel in the company of a very rich man, and when they were attacked by robbers, the wealthy

fellow said: 'Alas, if they were to recognise me!' and Soqrât also said: 'Alas, if they were to recognise me!'

The following are likewise his maxims: 'When the fire of your wrath blazes up, suffocate it by meekness.—This life is a picture, drawn on a sheet, portions whereof are now exposed to view, but rolled up anon.—Praise your friends whenever you meet them by mentioning their good qualities; for, if you mention their bad ones, you will make them your enemies.' Aflatûn asked Soqrât the following questions: 'Who is to be pitied? When is the trouble of man useless? How may the favour of God be acquired?' Soqrât replied: 'Three kinds of persons are to be pitied: (1) a good man who serves a bad master, but always sees and hears things which he ought neither to see nor to hear, and is therefore in an unhappy state of mind; (2) an intelligent man whose benefactor is a fool, and constantly torments himself with labour and grief; (3) and a noble-minded individual who has fallen into the meshes of a despicable wretch, whom he is compelled to obey, and to whom he must humble himself. The trouble of men is lost when the remedy is in the hands of an individual from whom they do not want to accept it; when a person takes up arms and is unable to use them; and when wealth falls into the possession of a man who is unable to utilize it. The favour of God (w. n. b. gl.) may be acquired by abundant gratitude, piety, and abstinence from every sin.' After hearing these words, Aflatûn attached himself to Boqrât [Hippocrates], from whose company he was severed by death only.

When asked what gain there is in the study of philosophy, Soqrât replied: 'What greater profit can there be than to behold myself on the shore, while others are being drowned?' Once a man said to him: 'I mentioned your name to a certain person, but he knew nothing about you.' He replied: 'The loss is on his part, and not on mine. It is not my duty to court the acquaintance of mean persons, but anyone to whom I am not known is a mean person.' To a soldier who had run away he said:

'To flee from a battle is a disgrace.' The fugitive replied: 'Death is a greater disgrace than flight.' Soqrât rejoined: 'Life is preferable to death when the value of it has been enhanced by bodily encountering the latter; but the latter is preferable to the former preserved by cowardice.' In an assembly a man sought precedence over him by occupying a higher place; but he was not in the least dismayed thereby, and when asked why he had not manifested his displeasure at such incivility, he replied: 'There is no doubt that the wall opposite to us is much higher than anyone present; nevertheless, no one gets angry with the wall. Had his aspirations been higher than mine, I might have become angry, such, however, not being the case, his place is in reality lower than mine.' The following are also of his sayings: 'Be not ashamed to receive the truth from anyone who utters it, even if he be poor and despicable; because the pearl loses nothing in value by the poverty of the diver.—Whoever loves you for your own sake, love him in return.—If you be ignorant on a subject, ask for information.—If you have committed a fault and repent of it, cease to persevere in it.—If you cannot help a man, cover his faults.—If you cannot give a man anything else, give him good words—If a man desires to mix with friends, he must first examine himself whether he can bear with their foibles, else it will be better to abstain from intercourse, and to prefer solitude.—The weakness of a man may be discerned by three things: from his disregard for the regulation of his own mind, from his slender resistance to passion, and from his giving credit to the opinions of a woman, whether she understands a matter or not.' When asked why he had never been seen in a state of melancholy, he replied, because he had nothing the loss whereof he might regret. There are six kinds of persons who are always unhappy: the envious and the covetous, persons who have suddenly become rich, those who are in constant fear of poverty and distress, ambitious men who aim higher than their capacities entitle them to, and fools who associate with polished and learned men. A man

asked him: 'You study philosophy all day, inducing also others to do so, but spend your nights in poverty; then what has your philosophy made you independent of?' He replied: 'Of the pangs of envy, with which you are inspired towards me.' He also said: 'A man's knowledge of his own mind, and of the occupation most suitable for it, is one of the portions of philosophy most useful to him.'

DIUJÂNOS KALBI [DIOGENES THE CYNIC].

Historians assert that Diujânos was one of the wisest men of his age, and that he had made great progress in abstinence, piety, and solitude. His independence was so great, that he spurned the world with everything therein, and was partial to no fixed abode, but spent the night wherever it overtook him, and ate whatever food he could get hold of when hunger pressed him. He dressed in woollen garments, and never changed them nor his manner of living till his dying day. Once the king happened to pass near the locality where he was, and, perceiving Diujânos, halted and asked him questions; but as the philosopher neither rose nor performed the salutation due to a king, the latter became angry, and said.

K. O Diujânos, thou imaginest that thou art independent of me, but such is not the case.

D. In need of what stands the servant of my servant?

K. Who is the slave of thy slave?'

D. Thyself! because I am master of my passions, and thou art the slave of thine.

K. I shall present thee with whatever property or riches thou likest.

D. Why should I accept anything from a man who is poorer than myself?

K. In this state of destitution?

D. As I am more contented with my poverty than thou with thy riches, I am of course more wealthy than thyself.

The following are some of his sayings: 'If you see a dog leaving his master to follow you, drive him away with heavy stones from you, because some day he would leave

you also to follow another.' He addressed a youth, whose countenance was adorned with beauty and his mind with politeness, in the following strain: 'My son, thou hast embellished thy face with the excellencies of thy mind!' Being asked concerning things proper for eating and drinking, he replied: 'Any things which may be obtained and are fit for hungry persons.' To the question, how friends are to be defined, he replied: 'One soul in different bodies.' Being questioned why he hated all men, he answered: 'I hate bad persons on account of their wickedness, and those who are good because they do not persecute the bad ones.' When asked why people call him Kalbi [Cynic], he replied: 'Because I boldly speak the truth to the face of fools; because I shout at ignorant persons, and do not flatter wise ones.' Some of his friends asked: 'How would it be if you had a house for your comfort?' But he replied: 'My comfort consists in not possessing a house.' When Eskandar conquered the birthplace of Diujânos, he went to see him; but perceiving the philosopher to be poor, he kicked him with his foot, saying: 'Arise! I have taken thy town.' He replied: 'To conquer cities is the habit of kings, but to kick of donkeys.' Perceiving two men who had for a long time lived in friendship with each other, he made inquiries, and being told that they were 'friends,' he said: 'Tell me the truth, for the one is rich, and the other poor.' One day he stood up in a high place, and exclaimed in a loud voice. 'O men!' And when a crowd assembled around him, he said: 'I called men, and not you.' One day he waited upon Eskandar, and hearing a poet recite a panegyric of the king, he went aside and began to chew a piece of bread which he had with him. Someone asked: 'Preferrest thou to eat rather than to hear the eulogy of the king?' He replied: 'It is better to eat than to listen to falsehoods' One day Eskandar distributed gold and silver to his courtiers, in the presence of Diujânos, to whom he likewise offered a share; but the philosopher would not accept it, whereon the king exclaimed angrily: 'A dog must be kept famished and

despicable to insure his obedience.' He replied: 'Yes, but in a place where others are in need of bread.' Let it not remain unknown that the king here mentioned is not Eskandar who was the son of Filqûs [Philip].

Being asked why he did not fight against the enemies of religion, he replied: 'Of all the goods possessed by men, I have life only; and if I jeopardize that, what will be left to me?' When people blamed him for not marrying, he replied: 'It is more easy for me to suppress lust, than to encounter the hardships of supporting a family.' One day Eskandar asked his courtiers by what means eternal reward could be gained, and Diujânos answered: 'By good acts easy to you, but utterly impossible to your subjects.' Once he passed near a custom-house, and being asked whether he had anything in his bag, he replied affirmatively; but when the official examined it and found nothing, he asked: 'Where is the thing thou hast mentioned?' the philosopher pointed to his breast, saying: 'My treasury-chest is here, of which no thief nor custom-house officer can rob me.'

Aflatûn [Plato] the Divine.

The meaning of the word Aflatûn is in the Yonâni [Greek] language 'general welfare' and 'much science.' Both his parents were noble descendants of Asqlabios. From childhood Aflatûn pursued the study of the language and the rules of poetry till the time of adolescence, with such ardour that he became celebrated for his attainments; but one day he happened to be present at a lecture of Soqrât, who was just declaiming against persons that spend all their time with poetry and poets, thus falling back in other accomplishments. The words of Soqrât made so deep an impression upon him that he attended during five years to his instructions, and devoted himself to the study of philosophy. When Soqrât departed to his eternal rest, Aflatûn went to Egypt, where he associated with the disciples of Fithaghorath, appropriated to himself all they knew, returned to Atheniah, the city of sages, and established a

school of philosophy. He also went to Sikilià [Sicily], where he had discussions with Dionisos, the governor of that country, and was persecuted; but, by the favour of the Almighty, was allowed at last to escape to Atheniah, where he led an exemplary life, and was a stanch friend of the poor. He refused to enter the arena of politics, although solicited to do so, because he knew that the inhabitants of his country were too persistent in their evil ways, and that if he were to exhort them to abandon the customs of their ancestors the same fate would befall him which had overtaken Soqrât.

Aflatûn was a man of sallow complexion, of middling stature, of full proportions, and beautiful countenance. In benignity of manners and good acts he had no equal. He was very kind to strangers as well as to friends, and much addicted to solitude. He attained the age of eighty-one years.

The author of the *Târikh-i-Hukmâ* states that the titles of sixty-five of his literary compositions have been handed down to us—may Allah have mercy on him! The following are some of his maxims: 'A strong-minded individual may be discerned by his equanimity at the stratagems of obstinate wazirs, by his not giving way to anger when blamed, by his not becoming arrogant and haughty when praised, and by his readiness to engage in good works.' To a man who spoke much, he said: 'Why do you not keep the true measure, since God—w. n. b. pr.—has given two ears to a man, but only one mouth, that he may hear twice before speaking once?'—Seek a philosopher who flees the world, but flee one who seeks it.—Whoever inculcates to men the performance of good acts, but himself abstains from them, resembles him who holds a lamp in his hand that others may see by the light of it.' A young man asked him how he acquired knowledge, and he replied: 'By burning more oil in the night than you consume wine during the day.'—'A king is like a great river, from which small ones are branching out; so that if the large stream be sweet the water of the small ones will be of the same kind;

and if the former be salt or bitter, the latter will be bitter also.' Being asked what man injures himself most, he replied: 'He who underrates his own value, and humbles himself to persons that do not esteem him, and praises individuals who are not aware of his own virtues.' 'Wherever you find perfect intellect you will find lust and covetousness at a discount.—Contradict not an angry man, because he will only be more angry.—I am grieved in three cases, namely: when I see a rich man falling into poverty and disgrace, a noble-minded individual into a state of misery, and a learned man who is pitied by ignorant fellows.—Proximity to kings resembles a voyage on the sea, wherein people may be easily drowned.—If you want to give anything to a man do not force him to ask you for it.—If you wish to know the nature of a man, consult him on various subjects, from which you will learn his opinions.—He is the weakest of men who cannot keep his own secrets, and the strongest who is able to suppress his anger; he is the most patient who contentedly bears poverty, and the most contented who contentedly receives whatever divine providence has decreed concerning him.—If you have acted for the good of the country make no mention of it, and do not imagine that the king is under obligations to you.—Speak in such a manner of your enemies as not to incur the suspicion of falsehood.—When the words of a speaker are in accordance with his mind they will make an impression on the hearer, but in the contrary case they will not enter his heart.—Always aid those who have fallen into distress, but not by their own crimes.—The perfection of a man's intellect is to be able to love one's enemy.—To become weary of friends, and to divulge their secrets, is the sign of a weak mind.—Do not rejoice vainly, do not be deceived by your good luck, and do not repent of laudable acts.—The mind of a person who is your equal in knowledge and science may be superior to yours in your own affairs, because it is void of the partiality which fetters you.—Justice has but one type, and injustice has many, hence it is more easy to practise the latter than the former, and both may be com-

pared to archery, where much skill is needed to hit the target, whereas none at all is required to miss it.—The superiority of intellect over passion consists in subjugating external circumstances, whereas the predominance of passions makes him who is subject to them the slave of circumstances.—He who imagines that he has by the possession of a fine horse and coat acquired superiority over other men is a fool, because his horse and coat excel merely other horses and coats in price, and do not cause him to surpass other men.' When asked why people are more covetous in their old age than in any other, he replied : 'Because they know that it is better to die and to leave their property to enemies than to stand in need of the assistance of friends whilst alive.' 'Too much advice is suspicious.' When asked for what words philosophers are blamed, he replied: 'For words which displease our friends if we utter them, and if we utter them not, the laws of morality suffer.' When asked what things philosophers considered to be easy and despicable, he replied · 'To serve fools' 'A destitute man who wedges himself in among the rich resembles a swelling, which appears to people like fatness, and covers the pain which is the cause of the tumour.' When he was on his deathbed his friends asked him about the life of this world, and he replied · 'I was compelled to enter it, I wandered about in it with astonishment, and now I abandon it unwillingly, I know, however, that much, that I know nothing.' As all these sayings of Aflatûn are inserted at the end of the *Akhlâqi Nassiri*, which is a well-known work, and one of the books composed by Khajah Muhaqqaq Nassir-ud-din Tûsi, they have not been repeated in the present work.

ARISTÂTALIS [ARISTOTLE] BIN MIQOMAHOS

In the language of the inhabitants of Yonân [Greece] the word Aristo means 'excellent, perfect,' and Miqomahos means 'a disputant, a victor,' who was a celebrated physician in the service of the grandfather of Eskandar. When Aristo had attained the age of eight years his father took him from

Astaghira to Atheniah, which was called the city of sages, to study grammar and eloquence. He was thus engaged during nine years in the study of language, which the Yonânians called the ocean, because every person stands in need of it. When he had attained proficiency in that science he studied moral, political, physical, and theological sciences under the guidance of Aflatûn, whose disciple he became. In course of time his teacher conceived so high an opinion of the acquirements of Aristo, that if the latter happened to be absent when a question was being discussed, he used to say to his disciples, 'Wait till Aristo comes,' and not to continue the lecture till the latter made his appearance. After the decease of Aflatûn, Aristo went to the country of sages, and established a school of philosophy, which he maintained till Filqûs invited him to Mâqdûn [Macedonia], where he remained till Eskandar succeeded to the throne. When the latter departed on a distant journey, Aristo returned to the country of Atheniah, more especially because the climate of Mâqdûn did not agree with his constitution. He remained ten years in that city; but an idol-priest named Mâdûn excited the populace against him, because he was inimical to image-worship. This circumstance reminded him of the fate of Soqrât, to escape which he returned to his birthplace, where he applied himself to the rebuilding of various edifices, to the admonition of the people, and to the protection of orphans, as well as to scientific discussion with learned men. He was esteemed by great personages, who honoured him with presents; but he died suddenly while preparing for a visit to an adjacent island, to which he intended to retire in order to compose a treatise. He was buried by his disciples in an appropriate spot, which became a place of pilgrimage, visited by sages for the purpose of discussing any difficult question in which they happened to be engaged, and remaining on the spot till they had solved it, because they were under the impression that a visit to the sepulchre purified and enlightened the mind.

He counted among his disciples royal princes, kings,

and even Eskandar. He wrote one hundred and twenty works, and attained the age of sixty-eight years. He was a man of full stature, with great bones; his complexion was fair, his moustache thick, eyes large, mouth small, and chest broad. His walk was quick when alone, but slow in company. He was scarcely ever disengaged from reading books and discussions. He was fond of strolling about on the banks of rivers and in prairies, of listening to chants, and associating with pious men. In disputations he espoused the cause of justice, and acknowledged himself to be in the wrong whenever there was an occasion to do so. In his dress, diet, and sexual intercourse he never transgressed the bounds of propriety.

The following are some of his sayings: 'A learned may know an ignorant man, because he was once himself in that state; but an ignorant person is unable to know a learned one, because he was himself never learned.—Be contented, and you will be independent of the world.—To covet the society of a man who shuns you is mean, and to shun the society of a man who covets yours is cowardly.' Having been reproached by a man that he had defamed him, Aristo replied: 'I do not esteem you so highly as to neglect my philosophical occupations and to think of you.' To Eskandar he said: 'People are astonished in two matters concerning you: they are amazed at the greatness of your kingdom and at your courage; and people love you on account of two things: namely, for your humility and liberality.' When he was told that it is improper for philosophers to accumulate riches, he replied: 'They do so in order not to fall into the power of mean persons.' When he had terminated the education of Eskandar, he produced him in a public assembly, where he examined him on various theoretical and practical subjects, concerning all of which Eskandar gave replies; nevertheless, Aristo, instead of praising or flattering, only insulted him, so that all present accused Aristo of tyranny and of not acting in accordance with the maxims of wisdom; he replied, however: 'As Eskandar had been brought up among the

caresses of his father and mother, I desired to make him taste the food of oppression, that the bitterness of my reproofs may restrain him from persecuting his subjects.' 'The tranquillity ensuing after joy or pain is entirely the same.' Once he sent the following maxims in writing to Eskandar: 'People are of two kinds, ignoble and noble; the former are kept in subjection by fear, and the latter by shame. Accordingly you must display your strength to the former and your kindness to the latter. Be not overpowered by anger, because it is a quality of wild animals; nor by weakness, because it is a quality of children. Be aware that the duties of kings are of three kinds: namely, to keep up good laws, to subjugate realms, and to colonize deserted places.' It is related that on a certain occasion Aristo put the following question to one of the royal princes under his tuition: 'How will you reward my services when you become king?' He replied: 'I shall consult you in all affairs.' Another prince gave the following answer: 'I shall make you my partner in the kingdom.' When the turn of Eskandar arrived, he replied: 'O my teacher, do not ask me, because I shall not attain the royal dignity.' The philosopher replied: 'From your disposition and actions I can with certainty predict that you will attain dominion over the whole world.'

BOQRÂT [HIPPOCRATES ?] THE PHYSICIAN.

Some assert that Boqrât and Dimoqratis [Democritus] were contemporaries of Behmen Esfendiar, whilst others maintain that Boqrât lived one century before Eskandar. The author of the *Târikh-i-Hukmâ* has inserted his biography after that of Aristâtalis, and has stated that Boqrat Bin Râfnos was one of the disciples of Asqlabios [Æsculapius] the second, but the first who practised medicine as a science. He enjoined his children not to teach this art to strangers, but to keep it as an heirloom to ennoble his family. All the decisions of Asqlabios concerning this science were based entirely on experience, because he had in that way attained his knowledge thereof. The practice

of physicians during one thousand four hundred and sixteen years continued on this principle, until the time of the physician Minos, who considered it to be erroneous to rely on experience alone, and accordingly added theoretical rules to it, which were followed by physicians during seven hundred and eleven years, until the time of Parmenides the physician, who entirely rejected experience, and practised medicine exclusively on theoretical rules. After his death a schism took place among his disciples, some of whom adhered to experience and others to theory, whilst others, again, maintained that the science of medicine consisted in the practice of a few tricks. This dissension lasted till the time of Aflatûn, who investigated the tenets of the ancients, and discovered that practice without theory is equally dangerous as the latter without the former. He burnt the writings of both parties, but reserved his confidence for the books of the ancients, who combined experience and rules with each other.

One thousand four hundred and twenty years after the decease of Aflatûn the physician, Asqlabios the second was born, who approved of that philosopher's opinion, and acted according to it. After his death, and that of Mostafidânosh, who practised medicine contrary to his method, Boqrât was the most celebrated physician who perfected experimental medicine. When he perceived that this science had begun to decline, on account of the exclusion of foreigners from its study, he wrote a compendium of it, and allowed everybody to profit thereby; he also ordered his sons not to spare any pains in propagating this knowledge. In this manner that noble science was made accessible to all, and the precepts of Boqrât became universally known.

It is related that one of the kings of Persia despatched a messenger to Fillâqis, king of the island of Foâkad, which was the birthplace of Boqrât, with a request to send him the physician, to defray whose travelling expenses the said envoy had brought one hundred and twenty rattals of gold, each rattal consisting of ninety mithqâls. As Fil-

lâqis was a vassal of the King of Persia he was compelled to obey, and informed Boqrât that in case he should refuse, he would bring danger and misfortune not only upon himself, but on his king and country, it being out of question to offer resistance to the sovereign of Persia. Boqrât nevertheless refused to leave his country, and Fillâqis had no other remedy but to leave the decision to his people, who, however, unanimously preferred to incur the displeasure of the King of Persia, and to expose their country to war, rather than lose their great physician. When the envoy had seen the obstinacy of this nation, he returned to his master, and induced him to let the matter drop.

Boqrât was a man of beautiful countenance, fair complexion, with a large head and handsome eyes. He walked slowly, spoke little, ate sparingly, fasted much, and attained the age of ninety-five years. The first sixteen years of his life he spent in the acquisition of knowledge, and the remaining seventy-nine in the composition of medical works and in teaching. The following are some of his sayings: 'Who chooses to serve princes must be prepared to be insulted by them, in the same way as a diver must taste the brackish water of the sea.—Whoever is envious has an internal enemy that will kill him before his time.—Friendship may exist permanently between two wise men on account of their intellect, but never between two fools. The requirements of intellect being the same, those who possess it will act in concert, whereas ignorant persons cannot do so.—The profit of my virtues is, that they inform me of my failings—A man is to consider himself in this world like one invited to a banquet, if a cup be offered to him, he must quaff it, but if he is passed by, he is not to covet it. Accordingly he is not to over-estimate the possession of riches and connections, but he is to consider this world as a hostelry, the keeper whereof is fate.—There are three signs of weakness, namely, drinking water in bed, sleeping out of one's bed, loquacity and loud words.—Secretions from the body are discharged in five manners:

The corrupted matters of the head by emunction, those of the mouth of the stomach by vomiting, those of the stomach itself by purging, those of the skin by perspiration, and those of the veins by bleeding.—There are four things injurious to the sight, namely, eating hot food, pouring boiling water on the head, looking at the sun, and seeing the face of an enemy.

Aomiros [Homer], the Poet.

He was an old poet of the Greeks, as highly esteemed among them as Amrulqais among the Arabs. From his time till the mission of the Lord Mûsa, a period of five hundred and sixty years elapsed. He composed many wise sayings and poems, and his style was imitated by all subsequent Yonâni poets. The following are some of his sayings: 'He is a wise man who restrains his tongue from defamation.' Being asked when he will cease to praise a certain man, he replied: 'When he ceases to be virtuous and benevolent.' When told that many falsehoods were embodied in one of his poems, he replied: 'Poetry confines itself to fine and modulated expressions, and prophecy to truth.' To a beautiful boy who had no intellect, he said: 'This house is in good condition, but untenanted.' 'The courage inspired by wine must be ascribed to that beverage, and not to the man who displays it.' He also said: 'Distinguished persons consider intellect to be [like?] the prophet of God, and whoever has no intellect is to be considered as remaining ignoble for ever and ever.' 'Falsehood is licit only in cases of necessity, like a medicine in cases of sickness.'

Zinôn Bin Tâlôghôras.

He was a man of ruddy complexion, middle stature, with large and lively eyes, and a large head. He was sweet spoken and of polished manners; his attachment to those whom he loved was such that on a certain occasion when the reigning king wished to destroy some of his friends, Zinôn collected sufficient forces and extricated them from the

king's men. At last, however, they were all captured, and Zinôn, being pressed to make revelations, stated that no amount of force could induce him to betray his friends, and biting off his own tongue, spat it out; he was nevertheless subjected to tortures, under which he expired at the age of seventy-two years. It is related that he always impressed on his disciples that whenever they were deprived of any property, they should not consider it as a real loss, but say: 'We have returned the loan which had been entrusted to us.' Perceiving one day a youth seated in a state of melancholy on the seashore, he surmised that poverty was the cause of his distress, and spoke to him as follows: 'Friend! imagine that you are a rich merchant, navigating the ocean with a thousand ships full of merchandize, but that contrary winds have destroyed your ships, and that you are in danger of perishing in the waves, or fancy that you were a powerful sovereign, and that a successful antagonist had deprived you of your kingdom, and captured your person Now suppose yourself to be either the merchant or the king, and to have escaped from these imminent perils of death, be therefore patient and grateful, because your case might be a great deal worse than it is.' This admonition changed the grief of the youth to joy, and his despair into hope.

BATOLIMOS [PTOLEMY], THE PHILOSOPHER.

Batolimos was a distinguished geometrician and astronomer, who composed many scientific works. One of these is the book called among the Yonânians *Maghâston*, meaning 'Great,' but in Arabic it bears the name of *Majasti* The place of his birth and education was Eskandariah, in Egypt, and he carried on his astronomical observations during the reign of the King Azariânôs; the opinion, however, of some that he also enjoyed royal dignity is erroneous. He was a man of middle stature and fair complexion. On his face he had a red mole. His moustache was thick, and he had prominent teeth His utterance was beautiful, and his conversation pleasing; but he was prone to violent anger.

He walked slowly, ate sparingly, fasted much, but loved perfumes and beautiful garments. He died at the age of seventy years.

The following are some of his maxims: 'Whoever revives science dies not.—A wise and excellent man, whose own relatives are not able to appreciate his worth, is a stranger among them.—Wisdom is a tree growing from the heart, and producing fruits from the mouth.—Who desires to live long must be ready to bear troubles patiently.—Who is not warned by the misfortunes of others is warning others by his own.—In the same manner as a person in a state of disease can relish neither food nor drink, so also he who is entirely absorbed in the affairs of this world is inaccessible to spiritual advice.—Good works in this world are a capital bearing interest in the next.—A kingdom is injured by six things: (1) By want of patience in calamities, (2) by the absence of rain, (3) by the emptiness of the treasury; (4) by the king's assiduity in carousing and associating with intriguing women; (5) by ill-humour and excess in punishing; (6) By immoderate expenses and by enemies.—Whoever has any sense knows that the shadow of a cloud, the love of the mob, the society of hypocrites, and the establishment of tyrannical laws have no permanency.—A wise man does not associate with royal personages, but if he does, he must disguise his advice in parables in such a manner as not to incur their displeasure, when he wishes to reprove them.'

Some Maxims of Bâsolûs the Philosopher.

'In the same manner as a navigator does not set sail with every wind, so also a wise man ought not to yield to every impulse of his mind.—Be not greedy to amass wealth, for, although you may fill your pockets, your hearts may become void of religion.—The grief for the loss of property cannot be greater than for that which has been bestowed on unworthy men.'

JÂLINUS [GALEN] THE PHYSICIAN.

He was the eighth of the celebrated physicians, whose series is as follows: (1) Asqlabios the first, (2) Ghorus, (3) Sapûs, (4) Parmânidos, (5) Aflatûn, (6) Asqlabios the second, (7) Boqrât, (8) Jâlinus, who is the seal of the great physicians, because no succeeding ones were able to attain his celebrity. He was born after the mission of the Messiah, and wrote four hundred large and small books on the science of medicine, sparing no trouble to elucidate every difficulty. The chief cause of his proficiency in this science was his own father, who spent large sums of money on the education of his son, and brought distinguished physicians from remote places to instruct him.

It is said that Jâlinus was born in the country of Saba in a place called Fara'as, which he left for the purpose of studying medicine in Atheniah, Romia and Eskandariah. From the society of geometricians, grammarians, and rhetoricians, he learnt geometry, grammar, and rhetoric. He met a woman perfectly skilled in medicine, but especially in the cure of diseases incident to females, and through her he became acquainted with a number of simples, which cost little, but are of great use. After that he travelled to Egypt, and remained there some time for the purpose of collecting officinal plants, but when he was about to return to his own country, he expired in the town of Farmâ, on the shore of the Great Sea. He was a man of brown complexion, of beautiful countenance, with broad shoulders, open chest, and long fingers. He was fond of listening to songs and frequenting musical entertainments; he was, nevertheless, very studious, and also travelled much. He never gave pain to his friends. He dressed in clean garments, used perfumes, mixed in the society of princes and high personages, but was silent in their assemblies.

In some books it is recorded that Jâlinus was a courageous and rich physician, looked upon with awe by everybody, and living in the province of Maqdoniah, in the

country of Yonân [Greece]. The king of those parts, who was called Banqâs, distinguished Jâlinus by royal favours, and constantly praised him. At that time there was also a king of the Maghrab, named Bâz, who was obeyed by all the kings of those regions. One of his wives happening to be attacked by leprosy, and there being no skilled physician in that country, the king confided his difficulty to one of the wazirs, who gave him the following reply: 'In the country of Banqâs there is a physician who is very celebrated, and it will be necessary to send to the king a letter to this effect: "Despatch Jâlinus to the foot of my exalted throne immediately on the receipt of this letter, or else be prepared to see thy kingdom devastated."' Bâz approved of the advice of his wazir, and sent the just-mentioned letter, which Banqâs perused, showed it to Jâlinus, and said: 'I prefer to resist the king rather than be separated from you; I am ready to sacrifice my very life for you, and shall prepare myself for war.' But as Jâlinus was not willing to cause bloodshed, and averred that he would rather comply with the demand, Banqâs wrote the following reply: 'Although the princes of Yonân obey King Bâz, they are the servants of physicians, because the latter are in reality the masters of our bodies; and as Jâlinus is the chief of them, we request your majesty to send him back to us as soon as his services can be dispensed with at your court, because it would be very hard for us to be deprived of his company.' This letter Jâlinus himself took charge of, and travelled to the country of King Bâz, whom he found to be of a tyrannical and inhuman disposition. For some time he made his appearance at the royal palace every morning and evening, but was unable to obtain an audience. He was, however, by royal command lodged in the quarters of the hunters, where he could obtain no other food but game. After the expiration of one month, he was taken to the king and gruffly interrogated by the interpreter concerning his trade. Jâlinus replied: 'My business is to preserve health, and to remove disease before it has taken root.' The king replied: 'In my harem there is a patient whose

black complexion has become white. Can you restore it to its former hue?'

Jâlinus: There are some diseases, the manifestation, duration and disappearance whereof are subject to fixed periods of time. I desire to know when this distemper has begun to manifest itself.

King: It has been developing itself during one year, has continued one year, and now it is the third year since its appearance.

Jâlinus: I have heard that your majesty deprives anyone of sight who ventures to look at a lady of the royal harem, but I cannot cure this disease without seeing the person afflicted thereby.

King: Such is my custom, and being aware of it, you may begin your treatment.

Jâlinus: There is a way of looking at the disease without seeing the lady.

King (astonished): If you can do what you say, we shall acknowledge your skill.

Jâlinus (having caused the sick lady to be placed in his rear, and seen the face in a mirror which he held in his hand): I have looked at the complexion of the lady; she may be cured.

The king, being pleased with this information, ordered a loaf from his table to be given daily to Jâlinus, who then treated the malady, till it completely disappeared. King Bâz was so delighted by this success, that he ordered Jâlinus to be always present at the royal table, where the physician had occasion to warn his majesty of the perilous nature of the heavy dishes consumed at the meals. This circumstance, however, induced the king to say to one of his courtiers: 'I have separated this man from his friends and companions, and now he interposes himself between me and my favourite dishes, but I shall eat what I like, despite of his admonitions.' Another courtier repeated these words to Jâlinus, and advised him not to endanger his life by displeasing the king. He took the hint, retired from the table of the king, and contented himself with the

loaf daily furnished to him therefrom [as narrated above]. The king spent a few months in the country hunting, and never thought of Jâlinus until his return, when he met him again at table. Observing a heavy dish, of which his majesty was about to partake, the physician could not restrain himself from giving his opinion. The king then asked: 'What malady will I get if I persist in this diet?' Jâlinus replied: 'The leprosy.' Hearing these words, the king immediately stretched forth his hand, eating up all the food that was left, and said: 'Despite of your advice, I have eaten as much as I could.' Jâlinus replied: 'I am under many obligations to your majesty, some of which I shall discharge by the composition of a work on the symptoms perceptible in the human body ere the disease itself appears, and indicating its approach one, two, or even three years in advance. This treatise your majesty is to preserve, and to remember me after my death.' After having obtained permission, Jâlinus composed a work in which he described the causes of various maladies, together with the times of their beginning, end, or confirmation. He also registered and classified the diseases into curable and incurable ones, as well as into such as may be easily cured, and into such as are dangerous, and bring on death slowly or quickly. As he was convinced that the king would, on account of his insalubrious diet, be attacked by leprosy, he also predicted in the said book that, after the expiration of one year, his majesty would lose his sexual appetite, would become subject to languor and somnolency, entailing heaviness of all his limbs, but that if, in spite of all these symptoms, the king were to change his diet, he might yet escape from the disease; in the contrary case, however, the hair of his eyebrows and his nails would fall off; and also his sight would become weak after the expiration of one year. In this stage, however, a cure was yet possible, if the proper remedies were applied; but if his majesty remained careless, the disease would become incurable.

After completing the work, Jâlinus gave it to be pre-

served in the royal treasury, and having blackened all his limbs, fled to the country of Yonân, where he took up his residence in a town, under the jurisdiction of Banqâs. Some time afterwards Bâz was informed of the escape of Jâlinus, and was rather pleased, because the admonitions of the physician had made him uneasy. In course of time, however, the symptoms of leprosy began to manifest themselves as Jâlinus had predicted. When the king had lost his eyebrows and nails, he left the throne and departed secretly to Maqdoniah, where he at last found Jâlinus, who was engaged in teaching. Bâz requested a secret interview and informed him of his case, whereon the physician took him to his own house, and treated him in such a manner, that within the space of one year the hair of the king began to grow, and during the second he was not only perfectly cured, but had also lost his bad manners, and acquired the polish of the Yonânis [Greek].

When the king had entirely recovered his health, Jâlinus gave him his horse with one of his disciples for a companion, and sent him back to his own country. When Bâz arrived in his capital he was received with joy by his subjects, and his eldest son, who had administered the government during his absence, again yielded it to him. On that occasion the king despatched innumerable rich gifts—jewels, horses, and beautiful female slaves—to Jâlinus, whose disciple he likewise rewarded handsomely. He sent also letters with presents to King Banqâs, assured him of his friendship, and requested him to induce Jâlinus to return to his native country. The physician complied, and lived in great intimacy with King Banqâs, until the news reached him that Bâz had fallen sick; accordingly they travelled together to his capital, but when they reached it, they found that he had again recovered from his indisposition. He came out to meet them with a solemn procession and his whole court, at which they remained one month. Before they departed, arrangements were made to place one of the sons of Bâz under the tuition of Jâlinus, and also to betroth him to a daughter of Banqâs,

to whom Banqâs ceded a portion of his kingdom. The object of these details was to convince those who pursue knowledge, that their efforts must ultimately be crowned with perfect success.

The following are some of the sayings of Jâlinus: 'He would be a wise man who could possess a friend, watching every day his acts, and admonishing him to continue the good, but to abandon the bad ones.—It suffices a man, if he be wise enough, to discern the right from the wrong way, truth from falsehood, and happiness from misery.—The most acceptable gift is that which worthy recipients obtain without asking for it.—A man cannot act for his own welfare before he is acquainted with his own mind, because people are generally so biased by egotism that cowards imagine themselves to be valorous, and misers to be liberal, thinking their intellect to be perfect, whereas it is often merely the index of their folly.—Whoever is anxious for a good name is deserving of praise.—Always try to conciliate an enemy, although you may have great confidence in your own ability to subdue him.—He is praiseworthy who subdues wrath by meekness.'

THÂLIS MALATI [THALES THE MILETIAN].

He was one of the most celebrated philosophers of the country of Malatiah, and the man who first broached philosophical questions in those parts. It is related that, according to him, the genesis of the universe took place as follows: The first principle of all things was water, which became the cause of the habitable earth. The dissolution of the winds produced air. Various species of water produced fire, the smoke and vapours whereof constituted the firmament, and from the light thereof the Almighty created the luminaries of heaven. In the first chapter of the Pentateuch it is recorded that the origin of all things is an essence which the Lord Most High has created, and then having thrown a glance of awe upon it, in consequence whereof the said essence became melted. Then a smoke rose like vapour from the waters, and from that smoke God

created the heavens. After that foam, resembling the foam of the sea, appeared on the surface of the waters. Then the Lord Most High said: 'Produce the earth, and fix it by immovable mountains.' Apparently Thâlis had received his system by prophetic inspiration.

Anaksaghoras [Anaxagoras].

He was also of the country of Malatiah. Forfurius [Porphyrius] relates that according to him the root of all things was one mass containing the physical properties of all bodies. But he does not explain whether that mass was composed of the elements exclusively or partly, or not at all. Anaksaghoras was the first who maintained that the principles of things existed from all eternity in one productive force, from which the various genera and species, quantities and forms, were produced in the same manner as ears of corn grow from a single grain, and man himself is created from one drop of water. It is necessary to inform the reader that Anaksaghoras means by the first mass only additional, and not real priority, over all substances; it is, namely, the first addition to wind and water only, and not the first mass individually and absolutely. The assertion of Thâlis Malati that water was the first principle, is to be understood in the same manner.

Zi Qratâs [Zenocrates ?]

He was also from Malatiah, and one of the greatest philosophers of his time. According to his system the first of all created things was air, from which all bodies above and beneath originated. Thus, for instance, the heavens, the stars, the intellects, and souls, were created from pure and inorganic bodies, but plants, animals, and men from thick air.

Ankâs.

He was one of the great philosophers, and is said to have been a contemporary of Behmen Bin Esfendiâr. Aristâtalis preferred the opinion of Ankâs to his own, and to

those of Aflatūn. The following are some of his sayings: 'Do not consider yourself to be a man as long as you can be overcome by your anger, and as long as you obey your passions.—A man is to be tried when he enjoys affluence and dignity; not when he is oppressed by distress and misery.—It is better to be an obstinate scholar than a pliant fool.—It is the duty of a man to purify his heart from deceit and fraud, in the same manner as one cleanses his garments from dirt and filth.—Be not too sweet lest you be swallowed, nor too bitter lest you be spewed out from the mouth.' When a painter told him to whitewash his house, and that he would draw pictures on it, he replied: 'First draw your pictures, and then I shall whitewash it.'—'A learned man who makes no use of his learning, resembles a patient who has medicines, but does not cure himself.'

AQLIDES [EUCLID].

He was the first writer on geometry, and the book he wrote bears his name. The following are some of his sayings: 'The geometrical line is an abstract idea, rendered visible by a physical instrument.' A man said to him: 'I shall not rest till I take your life'; but he replied: 'I shall not rest till I remove your anger.'—'Do not foment enmity between two brothers, because a trifle will again reconcile them, and your reward will be repentance.'

SÂQRATIS.

He was one of the most celebrated disciples of Aristâtalis, after whose decease he occupied his chair, and engaged in teaching. He composed trustworthy books, and the following are some of his sayings: 'Things not connected with the mind concur sometimes in distracting it from its proper functions; such, for instance, are the physical pleasures of eating and drinking.—An unrighteous king, a rich man of unsettled habits, a grandee whose words cannot be trusted, a donor who indiscriminately scatters his wealth, and a virtuous man without firmness of purpose, must not be accounted rich, but needy.'

On the Excellency of Knowledge and Wisdom.

The author [of this work] has considered it suitable—after recording some of the sayings and doings of such persons as were distinguished by wisdom and knowledge before the establishment of the Muhammadan religion—to insert some extracts from the *Kitâb Fuvâid-us-sulûk*, composed by a distinguished author, after the model of the *Kalila va Dimna*, with a few abridgments and changes, as follows:

It is recorded in chronicles that every man who acquires some knowledge, and ascertains the quality thereof by research, has, whether he practises that knowledge or not, by the mere possession of it acquired greater merit than the humble devotee, who has performed a thousand prayer-flexions in orisons. If, however, he practises that knowledge and teaches it to another, also the merit of the person thus taught accrues to him in addition, and is written down to him in the book of his works till the day of the resurrection.

The Emâm Muhammad Edris Shâfa'i—mercy be on him—says: 'I have borne with the times, and patience became my deliverance; I have inherited knowledge, and knowledge became my deliverance' It is evident to wise persons that after intellect there is nothing more noble than knowledge, and after the latter no gift is more excellent than science. Firdausi—may Allah have mercy on him—has said:

Distich: Whom without knowledge you find
Always avoid him, and never mind.

All intelligent persons are aware that between science and intellect the chief difference consists in the impossibility of acquiring the latter by dint of study, diligence, and repetition, because it cannot be thus acquired, except that portion of it which is called practical wisdom. Knowledge, however, is attained by study, by travel, by attending schools, and by associating with learned men. A wise man

is anxious to learn; he considers even such persons to be his teachers who are inferior to him in age and dignity, neither is he ashamed to own them as his masters and so respect them. Aflatûn says: 'Who has not the patience required for study, must have patience with folly and ignorance.'

It is related that Jâlinus once walked in a pasture, where he saw a herdsman put out his tongue, and therewith assiduously lick the eyes of a cow. Asking for the reason of this proceeding, he received the following reply: 'Once every month a whiteness appears in the eyes of this cow, which disables her from seeing in the night; but by licking the eye I remove that substance from it.' Hereon Jâlinus gave the herdsman some money, saying: 'This is your reward for the lesson in the science of medicine which you have just given me' That great physician was not ashamed to learn from an ignorant and low person, and highly esteemed the information he had received, although it was of no great importance. It is related that one day a juggler came to Khosru Parviz and performed wonderful tricks of sleight of hand before him. On that occasion also Shirin happened to be present, and being astonished at the performance, said to Khosru: 'You are the king of the world, and ought to be more wise than anyone else. Tell me now whether you know this trade or not.' Khosru, being ashamed to confess his ignorance to his mistress, he replied: 'I know it.' Thereon he beckoned to the juggler to depart, but secretly requested him to come again. When they were both alone, Khosru asked the juggler: 'Can you teach me your art quickly?' And when the latter gave an affirmative answer, he was presented with much gold, began his teaching immediately, and Khosru became in a short time so skilled, that whenever he happened to be alone with his mistress he performed tricks of legerdemain. That king was unwilling to incur the reproach of ignorance, because no failing is more disgraceful than this, and no advantages are greater than those of knowledge. This maxim is confirmed by the story

of Behrâm and Behrûz, one of whom was by the advantages of learning raised to the throne of dignity, and the other was by the misery of ignorance kept poor and despised :

Story.

It is related in historical narratives that once upon a time there lived in Tabaristân two brothers, distinguished by intelligence and wealth. The elder brother had a daughter called Jauhar, who was very beautiful and virtuous, and the younger had twin sons, a good one called Behrûz, and a bad one called Behrâm. Although the two youngsters loved each other, Behrâm was never happy except in the society of vagabonds, with whom he spent nearly all his time; whilst Behrûz was engaged in studying by day, and repeating his lessons in the evening. Both the father and the uncle were delighted with the disposition of this boy, and were grieved at that of Behrâm. According to the requirements of fraternal affection, Behrûz admonished his brother lovingly to walk in the straight path, and said · 'Our stay in this world is too short for associating with bad persons, who may seduce us to fall into evil ways deserving of eternal punishment:

Distich : If you leave an evil name
You gain not Paradise, nor fame.

'Be like a rose, my dear brother, which gladdens the hearts of men by its perfume while it lasts, and is remembered with pleasure after it has withered, and the return of whose blossoming is joyfully expected. Be not like a thorn, which pricks whenever it is touched, and lacerates any garment laid on it. People at last throw it into the fire because it injures them, but even if it never lifts its head from the ground men will not love it. Associate not with wicked persons, because their baseness will become engrafted on yourself, and friendship with them implies enmity towards virtuous men, and even towards God. I greatly fear that your fondness of bad company will bring

on the same thing which the friendship of the monkey brought upon the gardener.' Behrâm asked, 'How was that?' and Behrûz replied:

Story.

'It is narrated that in Rûm there was a gardener, active and tidy, as well as skilled in horticulture. He kept his garden in excellent condition. The freshness of its trees and flowers was beyond description, its blossoms looked like rubies and pearls, whilst it surpassed the gardens of paradise in beauty. This gardener was on terms of the greatest intimacy with a monkey Before this, however, he had wounded a serpent, which was constantly seeking an opportunity for revenge. Once the gardener happened to be asleep, and the reptile conceived that the moment for retaliation was at hand, but as luck would have it, the gardener awoke the very moment the serpent was about to sting him and put it to flight. After this event the gardener was always afraid to take rest, and confided his difficulty to the monkey, whose advice he asked. The ape replied as follows: "You need not entertain the least apprehension in this matter, for I promise to keep watch at your pillow whenever you fall asleep, and should the snake venture to approach you, I shall, by throwing a large stone at him, cut his body in twain like a thread of cotton." The gardener was rejoiced at this proposal, and went to bed in the afternoon, but he will not rise till the last trump of the resurrection awakens him, as will appear from what follows. When the gardener had fallen asleep, flies began to settle on his countenance, but were repeatedly driven away by the monkey. As they, however, returned again and again, the ape flew into a state of rage, and said: "Be easy! I shall do something to you which will prevent your doing any more mischief!" He then snatched up a stone, which he threw with all his might at the head of the gardener. In this manner he drove away the flies, but killed the man, who was not injured by his enemy the

serpent, which he dreaded, but by his friend whom he loved:

Distich: A foe who is wise is better than a friend;
Knowledge is good in foe and friend.

'I have narrated this fable to inform you that the company of fools leads to perdition.' This parable, however, made no more impression upon Behrâm than the sting of a scorpion upon a rock, and he replied: 'Dear brother, what boots it as long as I commit no wicked act? But supposing that we perpetrate even acts of burglary and theft, there is no harm as long as the king's men know nothing, and cannot call us to account.' Behrûz continued: 'Simpleton! your wicked companions have so perverted your mind that you are incapable of receiving my advice. You are mistaken in believing the king's people to be ignorant of your trick. They only respite you awhile, but will suddenly pounce upon you, as the fox did upon the cranes.' Behrâm asked, 'How was that?'

STORY.

Behrûz replied: 'I heard of a lake, the banks of which were adorned with many odorous plants and flowers, like the heavenly paradise. The surface of its water was dotted by many birds, like the firmament with stars. Near this lake a flock of cranes alighted for the night, because its water was more pure than the minds of intelligent men, and its surface, which was more bright than a polished mirror, would reflect the form of any enemy who might try to approach them. The cranes kept also a watchman whose eyes were strangers to sleep.

Distich: Always awake like lovers' eyes,
Interchanging secrets with the skies.

'A very cunning fox happened to obtain information of the presence of the cranes, after whose flesh he hankered. Accordingly he meditated awhile, approached the bank stealthily, and threw a bundle of grass into the water,

which gradually floated towards the watchman of the cranes, who, perceiving it, raised an alarm. All the cranes were on their wings in a trice, but finding out their mistake, they said to their guardian: "What is the matter with your eyes, that you are unable to distinguish a bundle of grass from an animal, and are disturbing our sweet slumbers?" The watchman, being ashamed at this reproof, placed the seal of muteness on his mouth. A short time afterwards, however, he again perceived a similar bundle drifting towards him, and awakened his companions, who then reproached him for being a fool, and threatened to deprive him of his situation. Therefore the watchman determined not to disturb the sleepers any more, let happen what might. The fox threw a fresh bundle into the water, and waited for the alarm; but as he heard nothing, he swam to the spot, first of all killed the watchman, who had become careless and drowsy, and then all the other cranes. I have related this parable to let you know that the people of the king are aware of your doings, that they are merely putting you off your guard, and that they will deal with you as the fox has dealt with the cranes.' The more, however, Behrûz admonished his brother, the more the obstinacy of Behrâm increased.

Some time after this conversation, a friend of Behrâm dug a hole into the dwelling of the magistrate of the town during the night, stealing a great deal of money and goods, which he displayed to his companions, all of whom had congregated in one place, except Behrâm, who happened to be absent on that occasion. When the burglars were captured, judgment was pronounced against them, and all suffered punishment by being hanged on several trees. This event took such effect on Behrâm that he henceforth abstained from associating with dissolute men, and began to tremble whenever he heard even the name of one. After that Behrûz said one day to him: 'Brother, I thought you would never abandon your criminal friends, because you were so closely allied with them. How did you come to repent of your evil ways?' Behrâm said: 'Your

question resembles that which the lion put to the fox.' Behrûz asked how that was [and his brother narrated the following :]

PARABLE.

'A very powerful lion who lived in a desert associated with himself a wolf and a fox. One day the lion amused himself with hunting, and ordered his two companions to do so likewise. They started in various directions, but were again to meet on a certain spot they had agreed upon. When they had terminated their sport, the lion caught an onager, the wolf a fawn, and the fox a hare, and at their meeting again the lion said to the wolf: "Come, divide the prey." The wolf replied: "The division is already correct: the onager belongs to the king [*i.e.*, lion], the fawn to me, and the hare to the fox." At these words the lion became so incensed with wrath that he attacked the wolf and tore off his head from his body. Then he said to the fox: "Divide the prey." The latter replied: "Let his majesty consume the onager for breakfast, the fawn for dinner, and the hare between the two meals by way of luncheon." The lion asked: "Who has taught thee to make so correct a distribution?" The fox replied: "The severed head of the wolf"—And I have learned this lesson from the trees on which my friends have been hanged.'

While these events were taking place the uncle of Behrâm and Behrûz one day paid a visit to their father, who was his brother, and spoke privately to him as follows: 'Life is uncertain, and its duration cannot be relied on. I have a daughter who will inherit my entire property. I do not want to marry her to a stranger, and thereby to deprive your family of sharing my wealth. I love your sons, and intend to give my daughter in marriage to Behrûz, with all my riches, and then to retire from active life.' The brother replied: 'My sons are not worthy to rank as your children, but only as your servants, and that station would suit them. If, however, you distinguish Behrûz by making him your son-in-law, Behrâm will become envious, his foolish dis-

position will prevail, and such enmity will arise between the two brothers that it will culminate in the utter extinction of our family, and our property will at last fall into the hands of enemies. On the other hand, if you accept Behrâm [to be your son-in-law] no evil results will ensue, because he is now engaged in acquiring the treasures and happiness of knowledge which can never be lost.' At these words the father of Jauhar became angry, and said: 'God forbid that I should give my daughter to Behrâm, just as if I were approving of his coarse manners Do you not know that I selected Behrûz for his knowledge and virtue, and that I prefer him to Behrâm for these reasons?' His brother replied: 'Behrâm and Behrûz are both your servants, and if you have no objection I shall consult them on the subject of this marriage. After that I shall be ready to obey you in whatsoever you may order.' The father of the girl assented to this suggestion, and the parent of the two youths returned home, informed Behrûz of his interview, and said: 'It was my intention that this piece of good luck should fall to the share of Behrâm, because he has neither sense, nor understanding, nor penetration, and we do not know what evils his wickedness may bring on. But your uncle is not at all inclined to give him his daughter, and if you refuse to take her, strangers will put their fingers into the pie, and will feather their nests by marrying your uncle's daughter into their family.' Behrûz replied: 'The good will of my uncle and the pleasure of my father overbalance all other interests with me.' Accordingly, Behrûz was married to the girl; but when Behrâm was informed of the event he trembled from anger and envy, exclaiming: 'I shall darken the life of Behrûz with the blade of my sword. I shall cause the sighs of grief, both of my father and uncle, to ascend to heaven, and I shall get hold of Jauhar, even if she conceals herself in the casket of non-existence, or if she attempts to rise into the sky like the sun. I shall prostrate her upon the ground with the lasso of my wrath.' With these thoughts he approached Behrûz, who was poring

over a book, but seeing the flames of wrath blazing in his eyes, approached him with compliments.

Behrâm [ironically]: I congratulate you on your marriage.

Behrûz: Were it not for your anger I might be congratulated.

Behrâm: You must excuse me if I retaliate in this business, and try to avenge the wrong I have suffered.

Behrûz: Perhaps you will resume your former habits, and associate with your old companions? Consider the threat you have just uttered towards me, and that I have committed no wrong by marrying the daughter of my uncle, whom he has given to me for the good of our family to prevent his wealth from falling into the hands of strangers. Had I disobeyed the behests of my uncle and of my father, I would have acted wrongly in the sight of God and man. You had forfeited your claim to the hand of the girl by your previous immorality, and our uncle would have rejected your suit.

Behrâm: You are delivering a speech, practising dialectics, and wrangling! You wish to palm yourself off upon me as a faithful adviser, but there is no love lost between us. Be at ease! I shall so arrange matters that nothing will be left to you except an old bag and a few rags, and you will be obliged to content yourself with a morsel of bread in the school like other students; you will be confined to their company, and no one else will associate with you.

Behrûz: What you wish to bring upon me as an evil is just what I covet, and your enmity to me resembles that of the eagles towards the salamanders, and the conspiracy of the birds to punish the salamanders with fire.

Behrâm: How was that?

[Behrûz then narrated the following:]

PARABLE.

'A valiant eagle, whose eyry was on a lofty rock, daily sallied forth in quest of prey. Once he soared about for so long a time that he arrived in the country of the Hindus,

in a region where a flock of salamanders dwelt. Two of these birds had just left their nests, and the eagle, being in a very famished state, immediately pounced upon them, killing one, and wounding the other grievously, who was, however, still able to fly to his companions, to induce them to attack the eagle, and to rescue the body of his murdered friend from the grasp of the robber. The eagle, who had been nearly disabled in this unequal contest, then reasoned with himself as follows: "It would be rank madness to fight single-handed against such a number of enemies, and therefore flight will be the better part of valour." Accordingly he returned to his usual haunts, assembled his tribe, and said: "After the prowess of my beak, and the strength of my talons have thus been put to shame, there is no other remedy, if you refuse to aid me in avenging my wrongs, than to go among the owls, and to solicit their alliance." The assembly of eagles responded to this appeal as follows: "We shall not fail to take signal vengeance for the blood which dripped from your beak, and for the injury done to your person, by accomplishing the total destruction of your enemies." The army of eagles immediately assembled and started, attacked the salamanders, killing many of them, and taking the others prisoners. When the eagles had again returned to their homes they considered the best mode of punishing their captives, and unanimously agreed to destroy them by fire. They then threw them into a mine of sulphur, which they called the self-kindled fire, but to their utter surprise the intended victims exclaimed joyfully from the midst of the flames: "Unlucky wights! Do you not know that this species of death leads us to eternal life? You compared us to yourselves, and knew not that fire annihilates the wicked and the unjust, but cannot injure the righteous!" This event greatly astonished the assembly of eagles, and depressed their spirits, but there was no remedy for their grief.

'You look at my associating with learned men from your own standpoint, and are in your folly quite unaware that such company is the greatest blessing to me. Whereas, on

the other hand, it is considered a disgrace to a man when he is told that to become related to him would be a shame, and that therefore he is not to obtain in marriage the girl whose hand he covets.'

Behrâm: If my uncle does not accept me for his son-in-law I shall cut the thread of his life in two. I dread no mortal man so long as I am able to wield my sword.

Behrûz: Your scheme of wedding that girl has been thwarted by fate, which is irresistible. Surely you are not more powerful than the lion who was unable to rescue the fox from the claws of the eagle. If your uncle and father throw you into distress, how will you extricate yourself therefrom?

Behrâm: How was that?

[Then Behrûz narrated the following:]

PARABLE.

'An eagle strong enough to pull up a whale from the innermost depths of the ocean, and to soar with an elephant in his beak to the zenith of the sky, perceived a fox, whom he intended to snatch up from the ground like a sparrow. Reynard, however, took refuge in a cave, and apprehending that his foe was lying in wait for him, was afraid to leave it, but when the pangs of hunger made themselves felt he crawled out with the greatest circumspection, and said to himself: "Ere I begin to look for food I must find someone to keep off from me this powerful enemy." In the vicinity a brave lion happened to be taking his rest, and him the fox approached, saying humbly: "The shadow of kings is a sun of felicity, beneath which the oppressed find shelter from the calamities of fortune. Kings are the shadow of the Creator, and to them the helpless fly for refuge from the persecution of tyrants." The lion replied: "If a rosebud lives in the shadow of my protection, the morning zephyr refrains from injuring it for fear of my displeasure." The fox continued: "Your majesty has no subject more weak than myself. In the shadow of your majesty's protection I found nourishment, lived, and was thankful. Some days

have elapsed since an eagle is in search of my life, and hinders me from coming out of my lair to seek my daily maintenance." The lion replied: "Do not go out of my sight, and if he attempts to injure you I shall annihilate him." The fox continued: "Several days have elapsed since I have not broken my fast, and hunger has nearly taken me off my legs." The lion said: "Sit down on my back till I catch a prey, and restore your strength by some food." The fox accordingly sat upon the lion's back, but the eagle, who was above them, rushed down upon the fox with the speed of lightning, and to his appeals for aid the lion could only reply: "As long as you were on earth I protected you, but I have no power in the air."

'This parable I have narrated to show that the decrees of fate cannot be eluded by human power or bravery.'

Behrâm : I shall injure neither our father nor uncle, but concentrate my whole resentment on yourself, because you have begun the contest and have hurled me into the vortex of despair. Can there be any act more despicable in this world than to deprive me of the mistress who is dearer to me than my own heart, or a sight more excruciating than to behold her in close familiarity with another man? It will now be proper for you to quench the fire of the calamity impending over you with the water of withdrawal from this marriage, or else I shall extinguish the hopes of your connubial felicity by wounding you mortally, and departing to a country where neither the king can imprison nor his minions reach me by punishment.

Behrûz : God forbid that you should fulfil your intentions! For, if you soar in the air with birds, or dive into the ocean with fishes, your destiny will bring you down from the sky by the arrow of its decrees, and will fish you out of the sea with the net of its laws. I know for certain that the misfortunes you are invoking over me will befall yourself, and that the evils you destine for me will recoil on your own head.

Behrâm : I shall extricate you from this labyrinth of contention, and shall lead you into the path of reconcilia-

tion, and to the mansions of peace, if you are so inclined. Separate yourself from my mistress.

Behrûz: He wanders indeed in a labyrinth whom you guide, and he is unlucky whose adviser you are. Should I walk on the road you point out, I would fare like the pigeon who asked the crow to point out the straight way to regain her native country.

Behrâm: How was that?

[Then Behrûz narrated the following:]

Parable.

Behrûz: I have heard that the Khalifah of Baghdâd had a carrier pigeon which was so fleet that it sought its food in Ferghânah, and drank its water in the river Nile. Sometimes it travelled to Rûm, and sometimes to Hindustân. The Khalifah loved this bird more than all his slaves, and if he had been able to scatter the moving and the fixed stars at his feet in lieu of grain, he would not have been sparing of them. Once this pigeon was bearing tidings from the King of Ma-vara-an-nahr [Transoxiana] to the Khalifah of Baghdâd. This happened at the season when the armies of winter had assailed the earth, and it had on account of the intense cold and dryness assumed the nature of a corpse, and had covered itself with the fur of ermine. The cold was so severe that the snow impeded the issue of the visual rays from the eyes, and the pigeon was fluttering hither and thither to discover landmarks which might guide her to her native country, all efforts, however, proved futile, because all the strokes of the sword of vision glanced off from the cuirass of the clouds. The poor pigeon then said to herself: 'At a time when the world is white like the book [of misdeeds] of the guiltless, and the sky as black and cloudy as the hearts of sinners, I know not how to escape from this difficulty, and to regain the direction of my country.' While the pigeon thus stood perplexed, she beheld a crow on the snow, like a black mole on the cheek of a beauteous maiden, and dressed in the sombre garments of a monk. This bird the pigeon

respectfully approached, standing before it like a penitent in front of a hermit, whereon the following conversation ensued between them:

Crow: Whence comest and what wantest thou?

Pigeon: Begging pardon of your reverence, my trouble is a very great one. I am travelling from Khorâsân, but my native place is Baghdâd. When I came to this region I found the aspect of the country changed, and lost my way. May I trouble your worship to point out the road to Baghdâd, and to pardon me if I have committed any incivility; for I am an utter stranger in these parts.

Now this crow happened to be on such intimate terms of friendship with a royal falcon, who had his nest on an adjacent ruined tower, that he took up the position in which he now was purposely to inform his friend of the approach of game by croaking very loudly, in return for which service the falcon always first presented the eyes of the victim to the crow as a titbit, and himself feasted on the other portions of the body. Accordingly the crow spoke thus to the pigeon:

Crow: I have been appointed by the Almighty to take my station in this place, to show the way to anyone who may have lost it, and thereby to procure eternal reward for myself. Seest thou the ancient tower opposite to thee?

Pigeon: Yes.

Crow: Arise, then, and alight on the tower, whence thou wilt perceive the country of E'râq, beauteous like the gardens of paradise, adorned with a multitude of fragrant plants, resembling the moles and mustachios of handsome youths.

The poor pigeon obeyed the suggestion of the crow, and flew to the tower, on which it had scarcely alighted, when it was strangled by the falcon.

Distich: When the crow points out the road
The cemetery will be your abode.

Behrûz: You would be a guide to me, as the crow was to the pigeon, and I shall by no means retract this marriage;

the more so as I do not mean to disobey our uncle and father. Nor will they ever agree to your proposal; but if you consent to theirs, you may count on my fraternal affection.

Behrâm: See! I am going, and shall in revenge engage in illegal acts; and should I be brought to the foot of the gallows, and you, being wazir, were willing to save my life, I would not accept it at your hands.

After uttering these words, Behrâm rushed out and joined a number of vagabonds, whom he induced to aid him in his attempts to blast the hopes of his brother. When Behrûz obtained information of this conspiracy, he spoke to his uncle and father as follows: 'This matrimonial scheme has thrown me into great danger.' They rejoined: 'How can that be? Such happiness would be coveted even by very high personages.' Behrûz continued: 'If anyone knows something about this matter, I ought to be able to appreciate the honour intended for me Behrâm, however, has entered into an agreement with some vagabonds to embitter my life, and I do not know how I shall be able to escape from their persecutions. It will be best if I leave the country for a year or two, so as to keep my uncle's daughter concealed, and for you to spread the report that I have fled with her to some unknown place This will disappoint Behrâm and cool his love-fits, as well as his anger. If, on the other hand, I remain at home, enter into family connections, and neglect my studies, I shall lead a very useless life.'

The father and uncle agreed to this proposal, and Behrûz travelled during ten years in various countries, staying in different localities to accumulate knowledge. After his return from his travels, he first visited the capital, where he cultivated acquaintance with several learned men, who conceived so high an opinion of his attainments that they introduced him to the king, who, unwilling again to part with him, assigned to him a mansion for his use, with numerous attendants. The king was always melancholy because he had no offspring. On a certain occasion, however, a white falcon, happening to alight upon the battlements of the castle, Behrûz considered the circumstance to

be a propitious omen, portending the birth of a child in the royal family. As one of the ladies of the harem was pregnant, the king became very hopeful, and ordered the falcon to be caught; but as all efforts proved fruitless during several days, and the bird usually perched daily on the battlement, the king requested Behrûz to devise a stratagem by which the falcon might be captured. Behrûz then proposed that the battlement should be demolished, and a figure representing a man erected in its stead. This was done; but when the bird arrived according to its usual custom, it seemed to be afraid; finding, however, that the figure was immovable, it settled thereon. Afterwards clothes were put upon the statue, which again caused some estrangement, until at last it also disappeared, and the falcon, laying aside all shyness, perched on it. Finally a living man was substituted for the statue, who succeeded in catching the falcon, to the great joy of the king, who praised Behrûz, and the latter replied: 'Your majesty caught the falcon like the serpent the birds.' The king asked: 'How was that?'

PARABLE.

Behrûz said: 'It is related in books that in Arabia there was a sandy desert, so hot that no bird ventured to live there. In the said desert there dwelt a large venomous serpent, of which all the beasts were in such terror that they could not sleep. The snake could catch no prey in that desert on account of the great heat, because even feeble birds and little grasshoppers eluded its grasp, so that it was much distressed, and soliloquized thus: "As long as any beast is alive it must eat, and although sustenance may be decreed by fate, and not in proportion to the appetite, it will not fall into the grasp of the recipient unless he works for it. As long as I remain in my lair, I shall receive the food destined for me only in imagination. I must jeopardize my life in the frying-pan of the sand, expose myself to the fire of the sun, and thus procure the food necessary for my support." Accordingly the serpent went out, inserted its

tail in the sand, and stood up motionless like a piece of wood growing out from the soil. The locusts and birds, who felt the hot sand very uncomfortable, imagined the serpent to be a stick, and, suspecting nought, alighted on its head. When the victim happened to be a grasshopper it was devoured immediately, but if a bird it was carried home in the evening and consumed at leisure. We have learnt this trick from the snake, and made use of it to catch the falcon.'

While the king was praising Behrûz, the news suddenly arrived that a beautiful infant had been born to his majesty. The king was so pleased with the fulfilment of the prediction of Behrûz that he distributed rich presents to everybody, and nominated him wazir; but he replied as follows: 'May it please your majesty! The proximity of kings resembles the sea: the nearer a man is to it, the more insecure he will be from its waves; but it may also be likened to fire, which becomes the more dangerous in proportion to a man's nearness to it The courtiers who surround a monarch are apt to persecute honest men, and to scorch them with the fire of anger. The heart of a king is like a mirror, which reflects on its surface every object, without respect to its beauty or ugliness. The wrath of a monarch is like the fire-breath of a dragon, which spares no one. On the other hand, an individual who enjoys the favour of the king soon becomes haughty and overbearing towards others, so that he is a wise man who does not covet royal favour, and thus escapes all dangers entailed by it.' To these objections the king replied as follows: 'My servants are not addicted to envy or pride, but are governed by the dictates of sound reason. A king who admits envious and intriguing persons to his court hurts his own interests. I make these remarks to allay your suspicions. I hereby inform you that great prosperity is in store for you, and that I do not accept your excuses.'

There being no way of escape, Behrûz was compelled to assume the duties of wazir, which he discharged very assiduously and satisfactorily. One day the son of the

[illegible] happened to play on the flat roof of the palace with a ball of silver, which ran to the brink of the parapet and fell through an aperture into the cave. The young prince then climbed over the parapet, and descended into the cave, where he found the ball; he was, however, unable to regain his former position. 'His mother, who had become aware of the dangerous plight of her son, stood below with outstretched arms, ready to catch him in case he should fall. Meanwhile a servant quickly made his appearance on the roof, pulled the boy up, and thus rescued him The hands of the lady, however, remained outstretched, and became so stiffened that all the efforts of the physicians to reduce them to their natural state remained fruitless. In this emergency Behrûz was consulted, and his advice was this: 'If your majesty will permit, I can easily cure this distemper now; but if it be allowed to take root, it will become incurable.' The king assented, and both entered the harem. Behrûz first ordered the countenance and the hair of the lady to be uncovered, but as this proceeding caused no visible effect, he commanded the robe to be taken from her body; and this operation likewise made no impression upon the patient. Then Behrûz exclaimed: 'Open the knot of her scarf!' and when the unfamiliar hand of a stranger touched that spot, the lady suddenly dropped both her hands to secure her girdle, and the cure was perfect. The king, pleased with this happy result, presented magnificent gifts to Behrûz, and desired to know the reason of his method. Behrûz replied: 'This disease originated from sudden grief, in consequence whereof a heavy substance descended into the joints at the moment the hands were uplifted, and kept them immovable; when, however, the hand of a stranger touched an improper spot of the body, the feeling of shame prevailed, and the natural heat having overcome and melted the said substance, the joints recovered their pristine elasticity.' The king exclaimed: 'Allah be praised, who has vouchsafed to bring me in contact with so excellent a man as you are, and I really do not know how to reward you.' After this

event the familiarity between the king and Behrûz increased, and the former, being desirous of seeing the birth-place of his wazir, they travelled to it together. When they arrived in the vicinity, Behrûz was so overcome by the recollections of his early years, and the thoughts about his father, uncle and brother, that he vented his emotions in a flood of tears. When the king perceived that the equanimity of Behrûz had been disturbed, and was informed of the cause, he said: 'This is an occasion for joy, and not for grief, because you will soon meet your relatives.' With this opinion Behrûz agreed, and proceeded in great state to the city; but when he entered it, he happened to pass near the place of execution, where he beheld the governor sitting in judgment, and in the act of punishing a number of thieves and burglars. Among these malefactors he caught sight of his own brother, and, overcome by his feelings, sued for mercy, and induced the judge to spare their lives. After his liberation, Behrâm joined the procession of the wazir, not knowing that it was the retinue of his own brother. When Behrâm reached the house of his father, he prostrated himself at the feet of Behrûz, and manifested sincere repentance for all he had said and done. The uncle and father, being ashamed of the misdeeds of Behrâm, had withdrawn into privacy; but when they were informed of the arrival of Behrûz, they hastened to meet him, together with Jauhar, and shared in his prosperity. On that occasion Behrûz said to Behrâm. 'Do you now recollect telling me not to take any trouble to liberate you from the foot of the gallows, in case I should become wazir? At present you know for certain that the reward for study is exalted dignity, and for negligence a high gibbet.'

Let it not remain concealed from the reader that the advantages of learning are innumerable, and that, by the favour of the Almighty, learned men have under the government of the sovereign of Islâm—may Allah perpetuate his reign—attained the highest stations; and it may be said that their incomes were never before as large as at present; nor were literary establishments and students one-

tenth part as well provided for as now. All these advantages are attributable to the liberality of the high potentate who is the cause of the composition of the present work, and the unparalleled excellencies of whose character will—if it pleases Allah, and time serves—be described by incontrovertible arguments. The time has, however, now arrived to give the history of the Ashkânians, and after them of the Sasanians, which are two dynasties of the Kings of Persia.

The Dynasty of the Kings of Persia, which is called Ashkânian.

It is necessary to know that the Ashkânians are also called *Mulûk-ut-touâif* [Kings of the nations], because Eskandar had appointed each of them to be governor of a nation, paying no tribute nor taxes to each other. They ruled these countries, and were succeeded by their children till the time of Ardeshir Babegân, between whom and Eskandar a period of five hundred years and a fraction had elapsed, according to the calculations of some historians.

According to the universally received opinion, the first of the *Mulûk-ut-touâif* was Ashak Bin Ashkân; some historians, however, not deserving of more credit, call him Ashak Bin Dârâ. Others, again, are of opinion that Ashak was one of those to whom Eskandar had given a kingdom. Some assert that, when Eskandar returned from the country of Erân, one of his governors crossed the Tigris, and conquered the realm as far as the limits of Rei, but that Ashak marched against him, and the *Mulûk-ut-touâif* aiding him, he expelled the governor of Eskandar, but nevertheless contented himself with his country, and the *Mulûk-ut-touâif* remained in their former possessions. They considered Ashak as their chief on account of the solidity of his judgment, but paid no tribute to him. He being the most renowned of them, the *Mulûk-ut-touâif* were called Ashkânians; but although the author of the present work took much trouble in examining historical

works, he was unable to find their names in detail. Whatever notices he met with concerning them were all so contradictory that the accounts did not agree even about two of them. Hamdullah Mustoufi, the author of the *Târikh Guzidah*, and Hâfez Abru, of the *Târikh Ja'fari*, are two of the later historians, whose statements the author of this work has adopted in the history of the *Mulûk-ut-toudif*, as well as in the records of their names and titles but favour comes from Allah!

Reign of Ashak Bin Ashkân.

Some narrate that he reigned after Eskandar, and that he agreed not to demand tribute from the surrounding kings, on condition of their writing in their Firmâns his name above their own. The following are some of his sayings: 'Reconcile your enemies until you find an opportunity—that is to say, yield to an opponent till a favourable occasion presents itself when he enters your net, and you may then avenge yourself.—It is not advisable to be on bad terms with rich and powerful men.—The glory of a king consists in the multitude of his provinces.—To undertake to serve a king is very dangerous.' He is said to have reigned twelve years.

Reign of Shâpûr Bin Ashak.

He succeeded his father in the government, and it is recorded in the *Târikh Ja'fari* that he spent most of his time in the plains of Arabia. His queen was a descendant of Yusuf the veracious; he founded the city of Madâin [in reality two, Ctesiphon and Seleucia, on the opposite banks of the river], and built the iron bridge across the Tigris, which subsisted till the time of Kesra. Wais and Râmin[252] lived during his reign. Shâpûr was a magnanimous, wise, and just prince, always engaged in the acquisition of knowledge, and in the discussion of philosophical themes, till the time of his death. According to Hâfez Abru, he reigned

[252] A poem of this name was published in the *Bibl. Indica*, in Calcutta.

forty-two years, but according to Hamdullah Mustoufi, about sixty years, which is an ugly discrepancy between these two great historians. His epithet was 'golden.' A few of his sayings are as follows: 'Ignorance is a misfortune which meets with no reward.—Skill and prudence become manifest in conquering the difficulties of life.' It is said that the mission of I'sa—o. w. p.—took place in his time.

Reign of Behrâm Bin Shapûr.

He became king after his father, founded a town in the vicinity of Anbâr, and another on the spot where Rûmah is at present, all the foundations whereof he laid in cut stone. He also built a large fire-temple, and reigned eleven years His epithet was Gudarz.

Reign of Ballâsh Bin Behrâm.

He governed by order of his father. His reign lasted fifteen years. He was a just and happy prince. During his reign a number of the children of Esrâil were on account of their wickedness transmuted into apes by order of the Almighty, and after seven days surrendered their souls to the Creator.

Reign of Hormuz Bin Ballâsh Bin Behrâm.

It is related that his predecessor abdicated in his favour during his lifetime. Hormuz was a moral, valiant, and pious monarch. It is recorded that while he was one day engaged in chasing a fawn, the latter took refuge in the mountains, and was followed by its pursuer. At last the animal disappeared in a hole, but Hormuz alighted from his steed and searched for it. When he had penetrated into the cave about the length of an arrow-shot, he discovered four apartments, each of which contained a vase standing on a golden pedestal. On the top of each vase there was a phial crowned with a precious gem. There was also a brass plate fixed, which contained the following inscription in Hebrew characters: 'This is the treasury of Feridûn.' After leaving this place, Hormuz convoked his army, and

distributed all the treasure among the soldiers. According to some accounts, he reigned nineteen years. Qâdesiah and Naharvân are said to have been built by him. In the *Târikh Ja'fari* it is related that during his time Yûnas the prophet—p. b. o. h.—had received his mission. He succeeded his father, and was a just prince. He had forty wives, and reigned forty years. In his time Sâdaq and Sadûq went to Antakiah to invite the people to follow the religion of I'sa—o. w. p.

Reign of Nûsh Bin Ballâsh.

He was a monarch who loved his subjects. In the *Târikh Guzidah* it is related that after Hormuz his brother Nursi reigned fourteen years. In the *Nizâm-ut-touarikh* it is stated that Nursi reigned forty years; in the *Târikh Ja'fari,* however, no mention at all is made of Nursi, and his place is occupied by Nûsh Bin Ballâsh, as recorded in the present work; God, however, knows best the true state of the case.

Firuz Bin Hormuz.

He became king after his uncle, but after he had sat on the throne seventeen years the oppression of his governors surpassed all bounds, so that the people assembled, took him down from the throne, blinded his eyes, and installed Ballâsh in his place.

Ballâsh Bin Hormuz.

When he ascended the throne he conquered a portion of the country, succeeded his ancestors in the government, and founded Lâr. He reigned twelve years, and appointed on his deathbed one of his cousins to succeed him.

Khosrû Bin Ballâsh Bin Nursi Bin Hormuz.

He was a prudent sovereign, but so uxorious that he did not spare even his own sister. It is said that he built a palace seven stories high, and that he took his seat in the uppermost of them, where he caroused, and from whence he precipitated criminals to the ground. One day he ate

treacle, and died from purging. Some assert that he reigned forty years. Sirjân was built by him. In the *Târikh Ja'fari* it is stated that the event of the seven sleepers occurred in his time.

Reign of Ballâsh Bin Ballâsh.

He reigned twenty-four years, and built Târum. In the *Târikh Guzidah* it is stated that he was the brother of Khosrû Bin Ballâsh, and that one night an angel said to him: 'Thy death is in thine own hand.' These words caused him great sorrow, and when he one day entered a tent, and was leaning against a pole, it collapsed, and the top-ornament falling on his head, killed him on the spot. Shamsûn the hermit is said to have lived during his time.

Reign of Ardvân.

In the *Târikh Ja'fari* it is stated that when he reigned three years elapsed and no rain fell. This calamity led him and his people to repent, whereon the Almighty again sent rain, and the world flourished. In the *Târikh Guzidah* it is related that after he had reigned thirteen years he was killed in the war with the Ashkânians. From the same work we also learn that the Ashkânians here meant were another dynasty of the *Mulûk-ut-touâif*, whose genealogy ascends to Faribarz Kâvus These kings are eight in number,[253] as follows:

Reign of Aulâd Bin Ashkân.

He waged war against the Ashkânians, deprived them of their possessions, and became sole king. He made the same arrangement with the *Mulûk-ut-toudif* which Ashak Bin Ashkân had entered into, and reigned twenty-three years. In the *Târikh Ja'fari* it is narrated that in his time all nations became idolaters, and that the Almighty sent Jarjis [Georgius] to them.

[253] Inclusive of Ardvân.

Reign of Ballâsh Bin Ashkân.

He became king after his brother, and reigned twelve years. In the *Târikh Guzidah* we read that I'sa—u. w. p.—was born in his time; but God knows best.

Reign of Gudarz Bin Ballâsh.

Some state that he avenged the death of Yahia [John] upon the sons of Esrâil. He reigned thirty years, and is called Gudarz the Great.

Reign of Bijon Bin Gudarz.

He reigned twenty years after his father.

Reign of Gudarz Bin Bijon.

He reigned ten years after his father.

Reign of Nursi Bin Bijon.

In his time the Rûmis [Romans] attacked Erân, but he repelled them with the aid of the *Mulûk-ut-touâif.* He reigned eleven years.

Reign of Ardvân Bin Nursi.

He was a powerful king, and the last of the *Mulûk-ut-touâif.* He reigned thirty years prosperously, but was slain in a battle against Ardeshir, the first king of the Sasanians.

The author of this work observes that the short accounts concerning the history of the *Mulûk-ut-touâif* have been taken from Persian books deserving of less credit than the work from which he has taken only their names and epithets, as follows [in Arabic], from the *Mufâtih:* 'They are the third dynasty, and have been called thus [*i.e.*, Ashkânians] because they were the descendants of Ashak Bin Ashak, whose epithet was Ashkân. Then [came] his son[254] Shâpûr, whose epithet is *zarîn*, meaning 'golden.' Then his son Behrâm, whose epithet is Gudarz. Then his

[254] Namely the son of the preceding.

son Bijon, whose epithet is *Alsalâr* [commander]. Then his son Behrâm, whose epithet is *Alroushan*—'the shining.' Then his son Behrâm, whose epithet is *Berâd*, meaning 'noble.' Then his son Nursi, whose epithet is *Shikâri* [hunter]. Then his son Ardvân, whose epithet is *Ahmar* [rubicund]. In the *Mufâtih* it is related that Ardeshir was the first king who bore the title of Shahanshâh, and having invented a belt, girded himself therewith.

THE FOURTH DYNASTY OF THE KINGS OF PERSIA, WHICH IS CALLED THAT OF THE SASANIANS.

REIGN OF ARDESHIR BÂBEGÂN[256] [ARTAXERXES].

Some relate that during his reign the Messiah—u. w. p. —was sent, and having despatched a messenger to Ardeshir, he invited him to embrace Islâm, whereon the king made a secret profession of his religion [*sic*]. All historians agree that Ardeshir Bâbeg Bin Sâsân was the youngest scion of Sâsân Bin Behmen Bin Esfendiâr, but they are at variance concerning the manner of his appearance. If all the opinions on this subject were to be mentioned, our object would be frustrated; therefore we shall content ourselves with one of them.

Some historians assert that Ardvân was the last of the Ashkânian kings, and also that he usually spent the summer at Esfahân, and the winter at Ahvâz. Others state that his capital was Rei; that he entrusted the government of Fârs to one of his great Amirs, the government of Dârâbgard to his chief eunuch Piri, and the superintendence of the fire-temples was left to the father of Ardeshir Bâbeg. At that time the Governor of Fârs heard that the youngest son of Bâbeg manifested great signs of intelligence and bravery, therefore he requested to

[256] He reigned from A.D. 226 to 240. See Gibbon's 'Roman Empire,' ch. viii.

be entrusted with the care of his education. Accordingly, the young prince remained with the Governor of Fârs, and having made great progress in the two above-mentioned qualities, Ardeshir was joined to Piri in the government of Dârâbgard, and ordered to take entire charge thereof in case of the decease of Piri. This event actually took place a short time afterwards, in conformity with the statement of the astrologers, who had predicted to Ardeshir that he would become the sovereign of the inhabited world, and with the words of an angel, who had appeared to him in a dream, saying: 'I congratulate you on the subjugation of kingdoms.' Accordingly he wrote a letter to his father to watch the opportunity and to kill the Viceroy of Ardvân, who was governing Fârs. The father complied with his advice, and installed his eldest son Shâpûr on the throne of government, who was obeyed by all the sons of Bâbeg except by Ardeshir, who refused to do so even after the decease of Bâbeg, in consequence whereof Shâpûr despatched couriers to him, requiring him to pay homage to the new sovereign.

The refusal of Ardeshir to submit to Shâpûr induced the latter to march against his brother with an army. When, however, the forces were about to encounter each other, some of the brothers, relatives, and courtiers betrayed Shâpûr, and delivered him into the hands of Ardeshir, who took Estakhar [Persepolis], and dismissed, by the advice of his wazir, those who had captured Shâpûr, to their own countries. Then Ardeshir marched to Kermân, and fiercely attacked Bellâsh, the governor of it, who, however, died. The conqueror then marched to Bam, the ruler of which he killed; he also captured and similarly punished the kings of the surrounding provinces, and founded a new town in every one of them. When Ardvân was informed of these events, he despatched an insulting letter to Ardeshir, who replied as follows: 'I shall vanquish thee, and shall separate thy body from thy head, which I shall send to the fire-temple. Verily supreme power is in the gift of God, and

He bestows it upon him who civilizes the land and cherishes his subjects.

Distich : God grants His gifts to those
Who allow the people to repose.'

Ardeshir then continued his victorious expedition, but the correspondence between these two sovereigns ceased only when the plain of Hormuzân was chosen to be the battle-field, which, however, Ardeshir reached before the appointed time, fortified it with entrenchments, and provided it with water. Ardvân likewise made his appearance soon afterwards with an army more numerous than ants or locusts, but lost his life in the battle which ensued. After this victory Ardeshir was immediately proclaimed Shahanshâh, and gradually conquered Hamadan, the mountainous country, and Armenia. Then he marched to Mousul, subjugated all that country, and built a large city to the east of the river Tigris. After that he marched back from the plains to Estakhar, whence he proceeded to Sejestân, to Jorjân, Nishapûr, Merv, Balkh, and Khovarezm. When he had subjugated the last-mentioned country he again marched back towards Fârs, and received from all the surrounding kings presents, as tokens of their submission, except from the ruler of Bahrain, who refused to pay him allegiance , when, however, Ardeshir marched against him, he was so terrified that he precipitated himself from a high tower to the ground, and thus perished by his own act. Having taken possession of Bahrain, Ardeshir went to Madâin, and abdicated during his lifetime the government in favour of his son Shâpûr. The duration of Ardeshir's reign after Ardvân amounted to fourteen years, and before him to twelve. Ardeshir is said to have been one of the kings who had subjugated the inhabited world, and had founded great cities.

Many excellent and approved maxims are attributed to him, some of which are as follows: 'A kingdom cannot subsist except by men, and men cannot subsist except by property, and property cannot subsist except by civilization, and civilization cannot subsist except by justice.—A rapacious

tion is better than a tyrannical king, and a tyrannical king is better than perpetual revolutions.—A righteous king is better than abundant rain.—He is the worst sovereign whom good men dread and the wicked love.—Religion is strengthened by kings, and kings by religion.—Rely not on this world, because everyone must leave it; happiness, however, in the next world cannot be attained except by making good use of our life in the present one.'

Let it not remain concealed that Shâh Ardeshir was one of the Kings of Persia, distinguished by his maxims, which he left to posterity. One of his literary compositions bears the title of *Kâr-nâmah*, and contains descriptions of his victorious campaigns in the inhabited world. Another of his books he wrote for the instruction of the people, and surnamed it *Adab-ul-a'ish*, which contains practical rules of life and dietetical maxims. It is related that police-officers kept Ardeshir informed of everything going on in his realm, to such a degree that he was able to tell persons whom he admitted to his audiences what they had been saying or doing on the preceding day. He also maintained spies at foreign courts, who reported to him everything he wished to know. It is also related that the subjects of no monarch were so afraid of their ruler as the people of the dominions of Ardeshir dreaded him. It was his custom, when appointing an envoy to a foreign court, to despatch another after him, and to draw his conclusions after obtaining the reports of both. He also was in the habit of saying that many armies are destroyed, much property is alienated, and many alliances are broken, in consequence of the mismanagement of ambassadors. He considered it incumbent on a monarch to possess the following qualities: 1. High aspirations. 2. Affability. 3. Self-restraint in anger. 4. High regard for the lives and property of his subjects. A king ought during the time of his prosperity to keep in mind the state of those who are in distress. When he is joyful he ought to remember those who are plunged in sorrow, and in his strength he ought to regard

those who are weak and helpless. Any king possessing the laudable qualities just mentioned will enjoy permanent dominion, and govern happy subjects.

Reign of Shâpûr Bin Ardeshir.[256]

Chroniclers state that when Ardeshir prevailed over the realms of Erân, he followed the advice of his grandfather Sâsân, and killed the whole progeny of the *Mulûk-ut-toudif;* others relate that the cause of this proceeding must be ascribed to the astrologers, who had predicted that the dominions of Ardeshir would be inherited by the children of Ashak. After having extirpated the just-mentioned princes and princesses, Ardeshir happened one day to perceive a very handsome girl in his interior apartments, who informed him that she was one of the attendants in the harem. The king fell in love with this maid, had sexual connection with her, and when their familiarity had greatly increased, she informed him that she was of the progeny of Aulâd Bin Ashak. This information so distressed Ardeshir, that he called for his wazir, and said to him, 'Lodge her underground,' which words amounted to an order for capital execution. When the wazir had taken the woman home, and was about to kill her, she informed him of her pregnancy by his majesty. Accordingly midwives were called to examine her, and these confirmed her statement. In this dilemma the prime minister resorted to the expedient of preparing a subterraneous apartment, of installing the lady therein, and of amputating his own sexual organ, which he then preserved in a casket. After that he waited on Ardeshir, and spoke as follows: 'I have executed your majesty's orders, and have lodged her in the bowels of the earth. In this casket I bring a pledge, which I request to be sealed with the royal signet, and deposited in the treasury.' The king assented, the wazir returned home with a tranquil mind, and in due time the lady gave birth to a son, who shed rays, foreboding grandeur. Unwilling to give a

[256] Began to reign A.D. 240. See Gibbon, ch. x.

name to the child without the king's orders, the wazir called him Shâpûr, *i.e.*, 'royal scion,' and waited for an opportunity to inform his majesty of what had taken place. Several years elapsed, however, until the king happened to fall into a deep state of melancholy, and said one day to the wazir: 'I have conquered the inhabited world, but have no son to succeed me in the government.' The wazir replied: 'Let your majesty not be dismayed on this account, for your majesty has a noble son in my charge.' The king was astonished at this piece of news, but the wazir refused to give any information unless the casket was produced, and his own person examined. The king agreed to both these conditions, and his amazement became still greater when he discovered that his prime minister had become a eunuch, and that his sexual organ was in the casket. The wazir then explained that when the lady had informed him of her condition, he thought proper to spare her life, and to emasculate himself, in order to avoid all possible suspicions about the paternity of the infant. The wazir continued as follows: 'When the astrologers were consulted and had taken the horoscope of the prince, they said, "From the position of the heavenly bodies it appears that this child will become a powerful and just king, and that he will inherit the realms of Kaiomarth, the Peshdâdian;" accordingly, I offered thanks to God, and cherished the prince, who is at present in the best condition.' The king was so delighted with this piece of information that he ordered Shâpûr to be brought to his presence, in the company of one thousand children of his own age, and dressed in the same garments. This having been done, the king was able immediately to pick out his own son, and the tongue of the circumstances uttered the following distich in conformity with the scene.

To-day the king of the assembly of darlings is one;
If there be a thousand darlings, the heart-ravisher is but one.

The king then ordered a Chugân[257] to be given to each boy to play in the adjoining premises. The children

[257] The Chugân is a bat or club of an arched form, and the game played therewith a species of hockey, or polo when played on horseback.

obeyed, but when the ball happened to fall into one of the royal halls, none of them ventured to go and fetch it except Shâpûr, whom Ardeshir immediately adopted as his son, and who proved to be a just and benevolent sovereign when he attained the royal dignity, praised and beloved by everybody. In the beginning of his reign he said: 'Whenever I make a statement on any subject, no one is to oppose it before earnestly considering its advantageous or disadvantageous consequences.' It is related that, after spreading out the carpet of justice and beneficence, he attacked and subdued with his army all his opponents, and one of his conquests during his reign was the taking of the fortress of Khazar.

Conquest of the City of Khazar.

The principal historians state that between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates there was a city named Khazar, ruled by an Arab governor named Zirân, who had subjugated the whole of the country of Mesopotamia. While Shâpûr was absent in Khorâsân, this Arab had invaded the adjoining plains of his realm; but as soon as the king returned, he attacked Zirân and besieged him two years in the fortress of Khazar, which he was unable to subjugate, until one day the daughter of Zirân, who was a maiden of unsurpassed beauty, happened to catch sight of him from one of the battlements, and was so captivated by the charms of his person that she sent him the following message. 'If the mighty king will accept me as a servant in his harem, I shall cause him to obtain possession of the fortress,' at which Shâpûr was so rejoiced that he despatched to her the following answer: 'If the princess will fulfil her promise, I shall in return for this service make her the chief ornament of my harem.' After this agreement the maiden, whose name was Nasirah, sent the instruction to the king, to take hold of a turtle-dove and to write on its foot a letter with the blood of a virgin, and then to liberate it so that it should alight on a tower. This having been done, a tower of the fortress collapsed, the

city was taken, Shâpûr killed Zirân, and sent Nazirah to his harem.

It is related that some days afterwards Nazirah was not able to sleep during the whole night on account of the pain she felt in her side. When the morn dawned her couch was examined, and a rose-leaf found on it. Shâpûr, astonished at this event, asked what her food had been in her father's house, which made her body so sensitive. She replied: 'The marrow of the bones of lambs and Egyptian vegetables. In lieu of water I drank pure wine, which may be described so bright that:

Distich: If a fairy soared in the night across its rays,
She could not hide herself from mortal eyes.'

Shâpûr said: 'As you have acted so treacherously towards your own father, what good may be expected from you?' Then he ordered the hair of Nazirah to be fastened to the legs of a race-horse, which immediately galloped away, inflicting the punishment due to the parricide maiden.

After the conquest of the fortress of Khazar, Shâpûr marched with his army to Nassibîn, which he likewise besieged, but was unable to conquer, until admonished in a dream 'to order his army to purify their hearts from all deceit and falsehood, and to turn in humble supplication to the Qiblah of their aspirations, whereon success would crown their efforts.' Accordingly Shâpûr harangued his warriors, and guided them to humiliation. Then a general onslaught was made, a tower of the citadel immediately fell down, and the whole fortress was conquered.

Thence Shâpûr marched to the country of Rûm, the greater portion of which he conquered. Returning afterwards to his own dominions, he founded several large cities. Towards the end of his reign, Mâni the Zendiq, who was an exquisite painter, laid claim to prophetship; but when Shâpûr summoned him to his presence, he fled; Masu'di, however, states that at first Shâpûr made a profession of the religion of Mâni, but afterwards rejected it. The duration of the reign of Shâpûr amounted to thirty-

one-years.[256] It is related that Shâpûr was so liberal as to be accused of prodigality, but he replied: 'He alone is truly liberal who accounts gold and stones to be of the same value.' He also said: 'The conversation of a wise man is wealth, but the words of a fool are a loss to the hearer.' Also: 'There is no innocence except by the grace of God, no meekness except by His support, and no decision except by consultation.'

Reign of Hormuz Bin Shâpûr.

He was a good, intelligent, and brave sovereign, resembling Ardeshir in features and in character. Historians state that when Ardeshir had killed Maharak, who was one of the kings of Persia, he attempted also to extirpate his entire progeny, because the astrologers had predicted that from it a man would arise and attain the supreme government of Erân. Therefore the daughter of Maharak fled from the wrath of Ardeshir, and took refuge with a shepherd in a desert. Shâpûr, who was hunting, alighted one day near the cottage of this shepherd, and asked for a drink of water, which was presented to him by this maiden, who was very beautiful. Being asked, the shepherd pretended that she was his own daughter, whereon Shâpûr, who had fallen in love with her, took her to his palace. To his astonishment, however, she repelled his amorous blandishments, but when pressed, avowed that she was the daughter of Maharak, and dreaded the resentment of Ardeshir. When, however, Shâpûr promised that he would keep the matter secret, she yielded to his passion, the first fruit whereof made its appearance in due time by the birth of Hormuz. They kept their marriage, as well as the birth of their infant, secret, until one night Ardeshir came to the house of Shâpûr, saw the child, and asked whose it was. Shâpûr then informed his father of his marriage, and Ardeshir was so glad that he immediately acknowledged Hormuz to be his grandson, and exclaimed:

[256] This is quite correct, because he reigned till A.D. 271.

'Praise be to God, I am now relieved of my apprehensions concerning the prediction of the astrologers.'

When Shâpûr ascended the throne, after the decease of his father Ardeshir, he sent his beloved son to Khorâsân. Hormuz went to that country, and acquitted himself so well of the duty of aiding the friends and humbling the enemies of the Government, that he secured the esteem of all parties. Some envious persons, however, who were anxious to ingratiate themselves with Shâpûr, reported to him that Hormuz was meditating treachery; but when the latter heard this, he amputated his own right hand, sending it to his father with the following message: 'I did this to show that I shall never stretch out my hand to covet supreme power,' it being customary in those times that a person maimed in a similar manner could not become king. When Shâpûr received the message, he was much grieved, and returned the following answer: 'If you cut up your whole body, you will nevertheless remain a prince and heir to my throne.' Then he summoned him to his presence, and overwhelmed him with kindness.

When Shâpûr died, Hormuz ascended the throne,[259] but retained all the governors and officers of his father in their employments, and departed this life after a short reign of one year and ten days. The following are his sayings: 'A man not possessing these five qualities is unworthy to be a sovereign, namely: (1) He must have foresight enough to perceive the sequels of affairs in the beginning, (2) he must be cautious enough to abstain from all improper acts; (3) he must be so confident of his own powers and bravery as not to be disconcerted in any emergency; (4) he must strictly fulfil whatever he promises; (5) he must be strong-minded enough not to be influenced by any superstitions or rumours.' It is narrated that one of the towns founded by him was Râmhormuz, and his epithet was 'the valiant.'

[259] A.D. 271.

REIGN OF BEHRÂM BIN HORMUZ.

He was an extremely meek and kind sovereign. When he ascended the throne, he convoked his subjects, and harangued them as follows: 'We keep treasures for our subjects to aid them in time of need, and we maintain standing armies to protect them all from the assaults of enemies.' The people replied: 'We trust that your majesty will govern us well.' And he continued: 'I pray to God, on whom I entirely rely, to vouchsafe me the favour to spread out the carpet of liberality, wherewith to cover your poverty.' He was so good-natured that he loved all his subjects. Some chroniclers assert that Mâni the painter went during the reign of Shâpûr to Hindustân, but returned again to Erân during the reign of Behrâm Bin Hormuz, who killed him.

RECORD OF MÂNI THE PAINTER.

In some books it is related that when Mâni the Zendiq heard of I'sa—o. w. p.—having said, 'After me the Fâruqleet [Paraclete] will be sent,' he imagined that he himself was meant, although that sublime word is one of the names of his lordship the prophet [Muhammad] o. w. bl., etc. Accordingly he set himself up as a prophet, produced a book which he called the Injil [Evangel], and alleged that it had been revealed from heaven. Masu'di states that Shâpûr at first made a profession of his religion, but afterwards rejected it, and so persecuted him that he fled by way of Kashmir to India, whence he proceeded to Turkestân and Khatâ [China].

Mâni was a very skilful painter, and is said to have been able to trace with his finger a circle of five cubits in diameter with such accuracy that, when the circumference was examined with compasses, no error was found therein.[260] In the country of Hindustân and Khatâ he acquired great renown by his pictures. He was always wandering about,

[260] Albrecht Dürer had acquired the same dexterity, but the diameter was smaller.

and it is said that during his travels he happened to discover a cave in a mountain, with a pleasant climate and a spring of salubrious water. The said cave had but one aperture, and having secretly accumulated provisions enough for one year, he informed his disciples that he would take his departure to heaven, where he would remain during one year, and then, returning, would bring information from the Almighty. He said to his friends, 'Expect me in the second year, in a certain place, near such and such a cave,' and then disappeared from their sight. He entered the above-mentioned cave, and occupied himself during a whole year in painting wonderful figures on a table, which he called the 'Arjank of Mâni,' and which he held in his hand when he again reappeared among the people, after the period of his seclusion had expired. Everyone who saw the table exclaimed:

Distich: 'Time brings forth images, varied in kind,
But none like those portrayed in our mind.'

When the people manifested their astonishment at the picture, Mâni exclaimed: 'I brought it from heaven, that it might be a miracle.' The people accepted his religion, and Mâni travelled to Persia, under the impression that he would be able to deceive the people thereof likewise. When he arrived in Erân he met Behrâm, and invited him to make profession of his religion[261] The righteous sovereign at first lent a willing ear to his pretensions, in order to set him at ease, and to allow him to assemble his followers. Then he convoked the U'lâma of the realm to dispute with Mâni, who was, however, unable to answer them; and when his erroneous and infidel views became manifest to all, he was invited to revoke them, but as he refused to do so, Behrâm ordered him to be flayed alive, and to be hanged on the public gate for an example. His disciples were also persecuted and punished. The reign of Behrâm

[261] The heresy of the Manichæans of the early Christian Church, which was a mixture of Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Christianity, is forgotten.

amounted to three years and three months. His surname was 'the beneficent king,' and he is said to have been the most skilled veterinary surgeon of his time.

Reign of Behrâm Bin Behrâm.

On account of the great love Behrâm Bin Hormuz entertained towards his son, he called him by his own name, and nominated him his successor. Some state that in the beginning of his reign this sovereign was inclined to tyranny, and oppressed the rich as well as the poor to such an extent that the chief military officers intended to remove him from the government. When the Mobed of Mobeds heard of their intention, he said 'You must unanimously leave the service of the king until matters mend.' Accordingly, not merely the chamberlains and higher officials, but even the carpet-spreaders, gate-keepers, table-servants, and others disappeared, and Behrâm, unable to find a man to wait upon him [one night] till the morning dawned, was much distressed. Meanwhile the Mobed of Mobeds made his appearance with the customary salutation, and was received by the king in a very friendly manner, but surprised him by his taciturnity, so that he said: 'Thy greeting is like that of a friend, but thy behaviour like that of an enemy.' Hereon the Mobed craved permission to speak, and having obtained it, said: 'I am astonished that, in contrast to the beautiful personal appearance granted to thee by the Almighty, thy demeanour is so shamefully oppressive that no one entertains friendship for thee, and all are thine enemies.' After this preliminary remark, the Mobed commenced to rehearse the lives of previous sovereigns, and said: 'Their good qualities were the cause of the permanency of their reigns.' Then he narrated to him the history of Eskandar, of Ardeshir, and of Behmen Bin Esfendiar, which aroused the king from the sleep of carelessness to such a degree that he promised to follow the example of his ancestors, and never to swerve from the path of justice. When he had spoken thus far, the nobles and Amirs suddenly entered the hall, and followed up the

advice of the Mobed with their own, which made so lasting an impression upon Behrâm that he lived according to it till the end of his reign, which lasted from about fifteen to seventeen years or more, according to various statements. His title was 'Sakân-Shâh,' namely, 'King of Seistân.' He used to say that the world is perishable, and that wealth is held only as a loan. He had two sons, Nursi and Behrâm

REIGN OF BEHRÂM BIN BEHRÂM BIN BEHRÂM.

This sovereign is also called 'Triple Behrâm,' and some historians relate that he was Governor of Seistân during the lifetime of his father, the majority of them, however, do not describe the reign of the Triple Behrâm. Ebn Athir, however, and Hafez Abru state that on the day when Behrâm Bin Behrâm Bin Behrâm ascended the throne, he said: 'We have a right to the throne, because we are of the royal race, and all our efforts will be devoted to the cause of making our people happy' At these words he was interrupted by the applause of the people and the army, whereon he continued: 'I put my trust in God, by whose favour all affairs are regulated. If we are spared we shall live in such a manner with you that everyone who hears about us will praise us; but in case I should come to a premature end, I hope the Lord will not forsake you.' Hâfez Abru likewise states that his reign is by some considered to have lasted nine years, but in the Shâhnâmah it is set down at four years only.

REIGN OF NURSI BIN BEHRÂM.

He was the son of Behrâm the second, and brother of Behrâm the third. When he ascended the throne, he promised to govern righteously the subjects whom God had entrusted to his care. He proved to be a very beneficent and religious monarch, although he was much addicted to sport and play. It is said that when he had attained the supreme power in Erân, he appointed an able viceroy over each province, encouraged men of intellect,

and removed the officials who had enjoyed authority during his father's reign. In the *Târikh Moa'jum* it is related that he abdicated the throne in favour of his son Hormuz, and took refuge from the changing fortunes of this world under the shadow of the beneficence of his Creator. According to the most authentic statements he reigned nine years. His epithet was 'The mighty hunter,' and his motto: 'Liberality is the most excellent treasure, contentment the greatest wealth, and love the closest kinship.'

Reign of Hormuz Bin Nursi.

In the beginning of his reign he was morose and ill-natured. When he ascended the throne he convoked his subjects, and said: 'Take care to pay your taxes regularly to my officers, if you wish to escape my wrath' To these words the people replied shouting: 'May God grant thee favour, and make thy subjects obedient to thee, because these two things will be very necessary during thy reign.' Understanding from this utterance what feelings prevailed in the assembly, he continued: 'As before this time the civil and military government of the realm was in the hands of another, some persons have suffered by my severity, which, however, I have now changed to leniency, because, having become the sole ruler of the kingdom, love for all my subjects animates my breast' At these words all the people prostrated themselves to the ground, unwilling to rise until requested to do so; and from that time he governed with much justice.

His liberality is said to have been so extraordinary that in his sight gold, rubies, and stones were of the same value. In his horoscope building was predicted, wherefore he never looked at a ruin without causing it to be rebuilt. It is related that Hormuz had married the daughter of the King of Kâbul, but this lady constantly refused to have any familiar intercourse with Hormuz, who became so vexed that he sent a messenger to his wazir with the question: 'What is to be done to a person constantly disobeying the sovereign?' The wazir happening to be

absent from the house, his son sent the reply: 'Such a person ought to be punished with death.' A short time afterwards Hormuz again made amorous proposals to his queen, which she again repelled, therefore he killed her. Repentance, however, overtook him, which he kept secret for a time, but one day asked the above question from his wazir, and received the answer: 'Any person disobeying the behests of a righteous king ought to suffer capital punishment, except a woman, a child, a drunken man, and a fool.' The king again asked: 'What is the punishment of him who causes the blood of an innocent person to be shed?' The wazir replied: 'Death!' Accordingly the king ordered the son of the wazir to be hanged on a gibbet, and commanded the people to report what the latter would say on beholding the sight. When the wazir arrived at the spot, he exclaimed: 'What am I to say concerning a man with whom I am unable to contend either in this world or in the next? Not in this because he is my king, and not in the next because the right is on his side.' These words having been reported to the king, he consoled the wazir, and ordered his son to be taken down from the gibbet and decently buried. According to the statement of the author of the 'Meadows of Gold,'[262] this king reigned seven years and five months. His epithet was 'Mountaineer.'

Reign of Shâpûr Zullâktâf.[263]

After Hormuz had departed to the abode of eternity, without leaving a child who might become the heir of the kingdom, the Erânians became apprehensive that the realm would fall into the hands of strangers. They nevertheless did not give up all hopes, but inquired whether any of the ladies of the royal harem were pregnant. Being examined, the mother of Shâpûr said: 'I am in a state of pregnancy, and I believe that my infant will be a male, because it is

[262] *I.e.*, Masu'di.
[263] Reigned from A.D. 309-379. See Gibbon, ch. xviii., xix., xxiv., xxv.

extremely light, does not remain quiet, and moves on the right side of my body.' When the grandees of Persia were made aware of these circumstances, they suspended the royal diadem above the head of the mother of Shâpûr, and girded, according to custom, their loins in her service. Some assert that Hormuz was aware of the pregnancy of the lady, and that the astrologers and soothsayers had spoken thus to him: 'From thy loins a son will issue, who will inherit the kingdom, will subdue potentates and rebels, and will for a long time administer civil and military affairs.' On this account Hormuz is said to have left instructions to the ministers of the country to pay allegiance to his promised son.

In short, only a brief time had elapsed after the demise of Hormuz, when a brilliant star, endued with a countenance like the sun, and a mind like Jupiter, made its appearance on the firmament of nobility. That glorious infant was, with the consent of the grandees and nobles of the kingdom, named Shâpûr; the coins were struck, and the Khutbah was read [in mosques] in his name. The Amirs and nobles, as well as the officers of the army, went daily twice to the palace, and the wazirs administered the government as usual. On that occasion the rumour spread in the surrounding countries that, there being no sovereign in Persia, the inhabitants are the subjects of an infant, who is as yet in the cradle. Therefore the rulers of adjacent countries coveted the realm of Erân. Arrogant leaders among the Arabs, Rûmis and Turks, but more especially the tribe of A'bdulqais, began, on account of its vicinity, to plunder the country, so that the flame of the wickedness of the Arabs was for some time blazing in Persia; but when Shâpûr had attained the age of [only] five years, his intelligence and generosity began to manifest themselves.

The details of this statement are as follows: When the royal prince happened at that time [*i.e.*, the age of five years] one night to be awakened by the noise of a crowd, he asked for the reason of the tumult, and was told that it arose on account of passengers from opposite directions

meeting each other on the bridge. Shâpûr remarked: 'This may be easily remedied. Let another bridge be built, so that those who come may use one, and those who go the other.' The Mobeds who had heard these words of the royal prince drew their [favourable] conclusions. When he was between six and seven years of age, he became fond of riding on horseback, and of playing chugân.[264] At the age of eight years he made himself acquainted with the art of government, and began to reign [!]. When he was sixteen years old he took one thousand Persian warriors; but according to others he selected four thousand, and marched against a horde of Arabs who had invaded the frontiers of Persia, and were engaged in killing and plundering. He fell upon them like a sudden judgment, and slew every one of the invaders whom he was able to catch, so that only those who had escaped from his sword fled back to their country, no trace of them being left on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris. Then he prepared boats, on which he embarked and reached Qotaif. In the country of Bahrain he made great havoc. Thence he marched to Hajar, where he killed so many of the Beni Tamim, and Bakr Bin Wâbel, and A'bdulqais, and of other tribes which were there, that he became tired of exterminating them, but ordered the shoulder-blades of the [captive] Arabs to be perforated, and strings to be drawn through them, wherefore he was surnamed Shâpûr Zullâktâf [Shâpûr of the shoulder-blades].

It is recorded in the 'Meadows of Gold,' that when the Beni Tamim fled from his wrath, they intended to carry with them also A'mru Bin Tamim, who had reached the age of three hundred years, but that he refused to comply, saying: 'Leave me where I am, that I may liberate you from the ire of this king, who has overpowered the Arabs.' The Beni Tamim accordingly abandoned him and departed. The next day, when the army arrived in the country of the Beni Tamim, none of the inhabitants could be found except A'mru. When he was brought to the presence of

[264] See footnote 257.

Shâpûr, the king took notice of his decrepitude, and asked: 'Withered old man, who art thou?' He replied: 'I am A'mru Bin Tamim Bin Merâhum, and, as thou seest, I have lived a long time. When my people fled from thy great severity and slaughter, I refused to depart with them, and now I offer myself as a sacrifice for them. I hope the God of heaven and earth will instil mercy into thy heart, so that thou mayest cease to shed blood, and forgive the Arab people; but if thou wilt permit, I shall be so bold as to ask a question.' Shâpûr replied: 'Ask what thou wilt.' A'mru queried: 'What is the reason for this bloodshed?' He replied: 'Thy people have come to my country, and have greatly injured my subjects.' A'mru continued: 'At that time thou wast as yet a minor, but as soon as thou hadst mounted the throne my people abstained from those improper acts; some of them have, moreover, received the punishment which they deserved.' Shâpûr rejoined: 'All this zeal in killing the Arabs is the consequence of a prediction, which my learned men have uttered, to the effect that at some future time the Arabs will conquer our country and will dispose of our possessions.' A'mru asked: 'Is this event certain, or is it only a surmise which has induced thee to attempt to extirpate the Arabs?' Shâpûr continued: 'There is no doubt at all about the fact that ultimately the Arabs will conquer the countries of Erân, and will reign in Persia.' A'mru rejoined: 'If such be the case, your majesty ought to be kind and merciful towards them, so that when they obtain the victory they may remember the good treatment they have received, and may also be kind towards your subjects. But even supposing that the Arabs will never conquer the Persians, even in that case it will be proper for your majesty to put a stop to indiscriminate bloodshed, because it will bring on eternal punishment, and entails the destruction of subjects [of your own also].' Shâpûr approved of the sentiments of A'mru, and continued: 'Thou hast given me good advice, and not overstepped the bounds of moderation, and hast convinced me of the correctness of thy opinion.' After that the king

issued a proclamation to his army no longer to injure anyone, but to replace the scimitar of vengeance in its scabbard.

The author of the 'Meadows of Gold' states that the above-mentioned A'mru lived eighty years more after this conversation with Shâpûr; but Allah knows best. Books have been filled with descriptions of Shâpûr's projects to invade Rûm after his expedition into Arabia. When he reached the frontiers of that country he wished to enter the metropolis of the Qaisar, disguised as a spy. Having examined and ascertained the position of the frontiers, he left his army in a suitable locality and proceeded in the direction of Qostantiniah [Constantinople], which is the metropolis of the Qaisar. After performing the journey he reached the term of it, and on the very day on which he entered the city the Qaisar happened to give a large banquet. A circumstance, however, which is curious enough, took place before Shâpûr had left his army; the Qaisar had, namely, despatched a painter to the camp of the sovereign of Persia to take his portrait and to bring it to Qostantiniah. The artist having well acquitted himself of his commission, the Qaisar ordered the portrait of Shâpûr to be drawn on vessels of gold and of silver, so that when Shâpûr took his seat on the day of the banquet at one of the tables occupied by soldiers, there happened to be on it also a bowl which contained his own portrait. Some courtiers, being struck by the resemblance between the figure on the cup and Shâpûr, immediately reported the circumstance to the Qaisar, and by order of the latter he was gently conveyed to his presence. Having been examined, Shâpûr stated that he had been intimately connected with the King of Persia, but that he had fled in consequence of some misdemeanour, and had come to this country. The Qaisar suspected, however, that to be a trumped-up story, and threatened Shâpûr with death, whereon he revealed the truth. The Qaisar then ordered him to be dressed in a cow-hide and imprisoned in a tower, where he was kept during the space of one year. When the Qaisar invaded

Persia and E'râq, he caused Shâpûr to be brought down from the tower, and compelled him to run as a porter by the side of his horse on the march. The Qaisar made great havoc in the country of Erân, because through whatever province he passed, he either felled all the trees with the axe of unrighteousness, or pulled them up by the roots. When he arrived near the army of Shâpûr, in the country of Khuzestân, where he found the Persian nobles had garrisoned a fort, the Qaisar determined to lay siege to it. On a certain night, which appeared to be a festival of the Rûmis, but in reality became one of the Persians, the Qaisar and his chiefs were amusing themselves, and the guards of Shâpûr became remiss in their duties. The King of Persia beckoned to some of his fellow-prisoners who were near to free him from his bonds; they softened by means of warm oil the hide, which had become dry on his body, and he hastened to the gate of the town. The guards of the roads and towers recognised the voice of their king, admitted him into the fort, and were delighted with his arrival. Shâpûr then ordered the arsenal to be thrown open, and weapons to be given to brave and courageous men. Then he made a sally, and fell like a sudden judgment upon the Qaisar, whom the heroes of the army captured and brought to the presence of Shâpûr. Then the king ordered the Governor of Rûm to be imprisoned, and forced him during the time of his captivity to send men to Rûm to bring soil [*sic*] from that country, so that they repaired every damage they had caused in Erân; and having brought olive instead of date trees from Rûm, they planted them there.

When the realm of Shâpûr had again become cultivated as in former time, he allowed the Qaisar to depart; in some chronicles, however, it is related that Shâpûr caused the legs of the Qaisar to be amputated, and that, having perforated his nose and drawn a bridle through it, he was placed on a donkey and sent back to Rûm.

It is recorded in the *Târikh Moa'jum* that after the return of the Qaisar to the country of Rûm, a man from

Qostantiniah, of the race of priests, a Christian, had taken possession of the city and of the surrounding country, so that even Shâpûr became apprehensive of him, knowing that he had a large army of brave soldiers, and that an encounter with him might entail his own defeat. He therefore found it convenient to retreat into one of the provinces of that kingdom, and to wait for some time, hoping to collect an army. He despatched letters to the adjacent kings, asking reinforcements, which, when they arrived, swelled his troops from hundreds to thousands. Then he attacked the enemy one fine morning, and fought a battle, which will be remembered till the day of the resurrection. Fortune, however, not having been propitious to him, he was put to flight, and wandered about for some time in the desert with a considerable number of his adherents, until destiny again favoured him, and forces gathered around him from all sides, all of which were accommodated under the shadow of the royal standard. Then Shâpûr began to march with all speed into Rûm, and sent a courier with the following message to the Qaisar: 'I have again organized an army, have recited the praise, "Return is more praiseworthy," and have tucked up my sleeves to avenge all the people of my country whom you have slain, imprisoned or robbed. I am ready to fight, but if you agree to pay blood-ransom for the killed, and restore the value of all the booty you have taken, making reimbursement from your treasury, and if you surrender the district of Nassibeen, which was in former times a portion of E'râq, but is now in your possession, I shall again sheath my scimitar and retrace my steps, but if you refuse to comply, the steel-hoofs of my cavalry will stamp out the name of Rûm from the list of kingdoms.'

After perusing this missive, the Governor of Rûm became so intimidated that he drew up a treaty of peace without any mental reservation, and surrendered the district of Nassibeen to the lieutenant of Shâpûr, who selected twelve thousand persons from Persia, from Espahân, and all the region of E'râq, and they departed with their families and

[illegible] to establish themselves in the town [of [illegible]] for the purpose of cultivating the land. From Rûm many slaves of the Turk and Qipchâk race, as well as arms and goods of all kinds, were sent in enormous quantities to Shâpûr as presents, who returned to his own kingdom, after making the necessary arrangements [for governing the district]. When he arrived in the country of E'râq he laid the foundations of the city of Madâyn, and having completed the building thereof in one year, made it the capital of his realm, where many nobles and grandees came to pay their respects to him.

He lived seventy-two years, during all of which he reigned. In the *Mufâtih* his cognomen is stated to have been Hûz, and his name Kashaf. Some of his sayings are as follows: 'Who speaks concerning people what he does not know, people will speak about him what they do not know, and it is an old maxim that a thrust with the tongue is more dangerous than that with a spear.' He also said: 'There are words more profitable than rain, and others more cutting than the sword.'

Reign of Ardeshir Bin Hormuz.

His cognomen is *Jamil* [elegant]. When he ascended the throne of royalty, he said: 'The time of my life and the duration of my reign are in the grasp of the will of God the Most High. I am governing only for a time, till my nephew gets older; and in my government I shall not deviate from the usages of my brother Shâpûr.' After he had reigned four years, he surrendered the reins of government into the hands of his nephew. But the Ravayet [tradition] of Tabari is contrary to the above statement recorded in the reign of Shâpûr, and is to the effect that Shâpûr left two sons, one called after his father, namely Shâpûr, and the other named Behrâm; and that Shâpûr Zullâktâf had also a brother older than himself, Ardeshir by name, and that Hormuz, the father of Shâpûr, had kept Ardeshir at a distance from himself, not caring even for his education. Accordingly, when he was on his

deathbed, he enjoined his grandees to make his posthumous son their king. After the demise of Hormuz, Ardeshir expected to be proclaimed king by the grandees of Persia, but they obeyed the wish of Hormuz, and waited until Shâpûr was born, whereon they girded their loins in his service, and excluded Ardeshir from the royal dignity. When, however, Ardeshir had usurped the kingdom, after the death of Shâpûr, he killed some of the great men of Persia on account of some old grudge, but the other grandees and nobles removed him from the throne, and seated thereon Shâpûr Bin Shâpûr Zullâktâf. Also the statement of Abn Athir agrees with the Ravayet of Tabari; but Allah knows best what is right.

Reign of Shâpûr Bin Shâpûr Zullâktâf.

He was a kind, just, and beneficent prince, who treated his subjects well, issued conciliatory proclamations in all directions, and his uncle, Ardeshir, who had abdicated, rejoiced to obey him. Some state that after he had reigned a little over five years, and was sitting, but according to others sleeping, in a tent, a strong wind arose, which severed its ropes, so that its big pole fell and killed him:

Verses: He slept, and there arose a wind
The like of which no one remembered.
It tore the pole, and threw it on the king:
Shâpûr died, and left his crown to others.

Ebn Athir and Muhammad Bin Jarir-ut-Tabari state that the officers in attendance purposely cut the tent-ropes, so as to cause the tent-pole to fall on his head and to kill him. His cognomen is Shâpûr Aljanûd [Shâpûr of the armies]. The author of this work is of opinion that Shâpûr must have been a wonderful simpleton of a king to leave his royal pavilion and to dwell in a tent. One of his sayings was: 'There is nothing more handsome than kindness, but gratitude is better.' He also said: 'Grievances are dangerous everywhere, but those are most dangerous which are in the breasts of kings.' The following is like-

wise one of his maxims: 'Evil exists in the nature of every man; if a man overcomes it, it will remain hidden, but if it overcomes him, it will appear.'

Reign of Behrâm Bin Shâpûr Zullâktâf.

Having been Governor of Kermân during the lifetime of his father and brother, he was surnamed Kermânshâh. He is said to have been extremely good-natured and moral. After he had reigned more than eleven years the army revolted against him, and in a general *melée* an arrow struck him in a lethal part, so that he expired. In the *Târikh Moa'jum* it is related that he was killed by a relative of his own without having committed any crime. Deeds, however, of this kind are nothing extraordinary in our strange world:

Verses: Whether a man gathers up his skirts
Or attacks the world with his scimitar,
He will not be safe from envious men:
Let base wretches perish, then.

Reign of Yazdejerd the Wicked.

The Persians call him *Yazdegard Farubandagan*, which means 'collector of sin' [*sic*]. Some call Yazdejerd the son of Behrâm, but others his brother. Before he commenced to reign he was known by his science, intelligence, beneficence, liberality and experience. But when he ascended the throne he shed much blood, and having raised the dust of confusion and wickedness, he began to despise learned men, as well as to illtreat his subjects and the army. He inflicted great punishments for some crimes, and accepted of the intercession of no one. He did not hesitate to commit sin, but considered it his duty to perpetrate what was forbidden.

It is recorded in the *Athâr-ul-a'jam* that when Yazdejerd ascended the throne, he said: 'Three are not to be trusted, namely, the sea, fire, and the Sultân.' He also said: 'The wisest king is he who delays punishment when he is in anger, and makes haste to reward the good when he is able.' He also used to say: 'Whenever the hand is not

occupied in doing good acts, it turns to bad ones; and whenever the heart is void of cares concerning eternity, it will incline to wickedness and crime.' In spite of all his good sayings, pleasant maxims, intelligence and knowledge, his practice was contrary to his theory, and he never acted according to his convictions. He abstained, however, from drinking wine or listening to songs, to enable his mind constantly to engage in schemes for distressing the people.

It is not hidden from the ingenious that the acquisition of knowledge ought to be utilized for purifying and elevating our morals; and an acquaintance with some special nice maxims ought not to make people so arrogant as to think that they oblige everybody by communicating them. When such persons enter an assembly, they like to sit in the uppermost place, looking down upon all others; and when any man happens on account of his merits to obtain precedence over them, they harbour ill feelings towards the unfortunate man till the day of the resurrection, are engaged in denigrating his character, and are satisfied with nothing shorter than his death; and if the unlucky wight utters one word which allows of ninety-nine interpretations, but contains a single flaw, his whole statement is considered erroneous, and they fall upon him like so many rapacious wolves to put him to shame before the whole assembly. There is a tradition of Shâh Shujaa' that he said to his courtiers: 'Procure me a master to teach me, who, when another scholar gets the better of him in argument, will behave like a man.'

Now the time has arrived to cease blaming malicious scholars, and such as do not act according to their knowledge, and to commence to describe the birth of Behrâm Gûr.

Birth of Behram Gûr, his Education in Arabia, and Death of Yazdejerd the Wicked.

Chroniclers relate that a child which had been born to Yazdejerd was short-lived like a flower, and that the tree

of its existence was, within the space of a few days, annihilated by the wind of adversity. When, however, Behrâm was born, he was for some time respited from the grasp of destiny, and his father, who had conceived hopes that he would live, ordered the astrologers to cast his horoscope and to inform themselves about his fate. After completing their investigations, these scholars reported to the king that the life of his son would have a prosperous beginning and a laudable end, that he would grow up to man's estate abroad, become valiant and bold, and be the heir and ruler of the kingdom of Ardeshir; also, that his eloquence and learning would be equal to his bravery. Yazdejerd, being pleased with this news, searched for a salubrious and pleasant locality with good water, where he might bring up his son. Various intelligent men recommended Hira, in the country of Arabia, and Yazdejerd, consenting to the proposal, sent for No'mân Bin Amrulqais, who was his viceroy in Arabia, entrusted Behrâm to his care, and advised him to select in his country a pleasant spot, distinguished by its good water and temperate air. No'mân thereon conveyed Behrâm to his own country and appointed three nurses to take care of him. Ebn Athir reports in his chronicle that, when No'mân had returned from Erân, he searched for a builder, and heard that in a certain provice of Rûm there was an elegant and quick architect, Samnâr by name, for whom he accordingly sent, employing, for the purpose of inviting him, sweet-spoken messengers, who brought him with the celerity of wind and lightning. By the command of No'mân, this architect selected a place appropriate for building, and laid at a propitious hour the foundations of two lofty castles. When the height of the walls had been raised to the stature of a man, Samnâr concealed himself, but again made his appearance some time afterwards, explaining that in the construction of so high an edifice this delay was appropriate [to give time to the walls to settle], and begged to be excused. When both the said castles were finished, one of them was named Sadir, and the other Havarnak. Ebn

Qotaibah states in his chronicles of the sovereigns of Persia—which is much quoted—that the Persians called one of the castles Khordengah, that is to say, 'dining-hall,' and the other Seh. dir, namely 'three cloisters,' because it contained three domes. The kings of Arabia have utilized both expressions, and transmuted them into *Havarnak* and *Sadir*.[365] In some trustworthy chronicles it is recorded that Samnâr constructed these palaces in such a manner that during the space of one night and one day they appeared to be of three different colours, namely, blue in the morning, white at noon, and yellow towards the evening.[366] When the edifices were finished, the king bestowed dresses of honour and liberal gifts on the architect, so that the simple-minded builder was quite overwhelmed, and said: 'Had I known that the king would treat me so exceedingly well, I would have built a more wonderful palace, so that as the sun moves in each direction, that castle would also move.' For fear that Samnâr might erect a better castle than the Havarnak for some other king, No'mân ordered him to be precipitated from the top of it; and this story became a proverb among the Arabs.

It is related that No'mân was an idolater, and his wazir a Christian. One day in the vernal season No'mân happened to sit with his wazir on the top of the Havarnak palace, contemplating the rivers, gardens and meadows around it. He said: 'There is no place more agreeable than this in the whole world.' The wazir replied: 'That is true, but it has one fault.' No'mân queried: 'What is it?' The wazir replied: 'It is not eternal, but perishable.' No'mân asked further: 'What is eternal?' The wazir rejoined: 'The gardens of paradise, which may be reached by professing the orthodox religion, and by obeying the commands of the Merciful and Clement [Creator].' These words induced No'mân to make profession of the religion of I'sa. Accordingly, when he came down from the castle,

[365] Both are mentioned in Qazvini's 'A'jâib-ul-buldân,' and also in other works.

[366] The 'Taj' at Agra seems to possess this speciality.

he put on a garment of sackcloth, abdicated his kingdom, abandoned his property and family, and departed into the world in such a manner that no one knew his whereabouts. After his disappearance, his son continued the education of Behrâm and the administration of his kingdom. As soon as the royal prince was able to distinguish his right hand from his left, he collected scholars of all kinds and ordered them to teach him. In a short time Behrâm became acquainted with theoretical and practical philosophy, as well as perfectly skilled in the use of the sword and the lance. After completing the studies useful to kings, the royal prince occupied himself with the chase, with drinking and banqueting. At this stage of his education the news arrived that his father had left our perishable world, and that the grandees of Persia had by general consent elected one of the descendants of Ardeshir Bâbeg, Kesra by name, to be their king.

This report greatly agitated the mind of Behrâm, and he requested Munzar Bin No'mân to aid him in such a manner as to enable him to recover the kingdom, due to him by inheritance, from the hands of strangers. Munzar placed the finger of consent on his eyes, and immediately despatched his son No'mân with a large army to Erân.

The details of this affair may be stated as follows: When the tyranny and bloodshed of Yazdejerd had reached their last stage, the army and the people turned their faces to the Qiblah of prayer, and asked for a deliverer from his cruelty. The arrow of their request having hit the target of response, all of a sudden a steed, the like of which the world had never beheld, made its appearance in the palace of Yazdejerd. The king ordered it to be saddled and bridled; as, however, the horse allowed no one to approach, he was compelled personally to do so; but when he attempted to fix the crupper on its back, the courser kicked him so violently that he did not stop till he reached the corner of eternity.

The duration of his reign amounted to twenty-two years and five months. When the people had been delivered of

his cruelty, they bestowed alms on the poor and destitute; the grandees held a consultation, and came to the conclusion that if they were to surrender the kingdom to the son of Yazdejerd, who had been educated by the Arabs, and had learnt their ways, he would act like his father. Therefore they selected, after mature deliberation, one of the descendants of Ardeshir, Khosru by name, but whom the Arabs called Kesra, brought him to Madâin, seated him on the throne, poured jewels and gold into his lap, girded their loins to obey him, and placed the royal diadem on his head.

When the death of his father, and the succession of Kesra to his throne, had reached the ears of Behrâm, he exclaimed :

Distich : 'Smile at all the beauties ; for smile you may ;
Slaves of prestige, they will all you obey.'

After making the preparations necessary for a campaign, Behrâm sent Munzar, the son of No'mân, with an army of ten thousand cavalry as a vanguard in the direction of Madâin, ordering him to fight everyone who might resist him, and not to be remiss in slaying, capturing and plundering, until Behrâm himself should arrive.

No'mân marched in conformity with the orders he had received, and arriving at his destination, pitched his camp in the plain near Madâin. The Persians, disquieted by the invasion of the Arabs, marched with thirty thousand cavalry towards Madâin to encounter Behrâm and Munzar. When they had arrived, the chiefs and nobles of both armies held a meeting, in which Behrâm insisted upon his claims to the throne. After a long discussion, the agreement was arrived at by general consent, that the crown be placed between two wild lions, and that he of the two claimants should become king who would be able to take possession of it. Then two wild lions were procured, and the diadem placed between them. Behrâm said to Kesra : 'Step forth and take the crown,' but the latter hesitated—

Distich : A royal diadem which endangers life
Is a nice cap, but not worth this strife—

and said: 'I am in possession, but as you covet the crown and the throne, you ought to be the first to undertake this business.' Thereupon the lion-hearted Behrâm valiantly approached the crown, and immediately bestrode the lion which had come near him, pommelling the head of the beast with a stone which he had in his hand. Then the other lion approached Behrâm, but he caught hold of his ears, and knocked the heads of the two lions in such a way against each other that their brains protruded, and the bravery of the king of lions drove them both into the desert of non-existence. Then he placed the diadem on his own head, and the tongue of the circumstances indited the following:

Distich: The king delivered himself from the grasp of lions;
He escaped from the jaws of dragons.

After Behrâm Gûr had performed this wonderful exploit, the arrogant men of Persia and of Arabia applauded him, submitting to his commands, and the first man who congratulated him was Kesra.

Reign of Behrâm Gûr.

It is related in the *Mufâtih-ul-u'lûm* that, as Behrâm was very fond of hunting the Gûr [wild ass, onager], he was surnamed Behrâm Gûr. Ebn Athir, however, states that one day he happened to shoot an arrow at a lion who was on the top of a wild ass, and that as the arrow had passed through both animals, and then entered the ground, he was called Behrâm Gûr. Also Tabari's statement and all other historians agree with this latter account.

In short, after he had firmly established himself as king, he pardoned, at the intercession of Munzar Bin No'mân, all the Erânians who had been so bold as to raise Kesra to the throne. He was kind to the army and to his people, remitting a sum of nearly ten thousand tomâns due as tribute. He assigned pensions to men of probity and learning, and restored to cultivation every district which had been ruined during the government of his father. He

overwhelmed Munzar Bin No'mân with presents and favours, which fully satisfied him, and then gave him leave to depart, but retained young No'mân as a courtier. Behrâm also entertained special regard for the Arabs who had protected him in his childhood, and captivated the hearts of all men by his kindness and liberality. He uprooted the tree of oppression, planted the shrub of justice, and having entrusted the care of the frontiers to vigilant men, engaged in amusements and pleasures.

It is related that his extraordinary prodigality so displeased his wazirs as to impel them to represent to him that, as the administration is carried on with the aid of the treasury, it must be ruined if that is exhausted. But he endorsed the following words upon the petition: 'If I do not captivate the hearts of independent men with presents, wherewith am I to cultivate them?' To this reply they could not demur. It is on record that during his reign all artisans and tradesmen lived in comfort, and worked only till the royal dining time, spending the rest of the day in amusements One day Behrâm happened to pass near a convivial party, and saw the people amusing themselves without music. Astonished at such a case, he asked how it was that they had neither musicians nor singers. They, however, replied that they could not find a musician even if they paid a thousand dirhems. This circumstance moved the king so considerably that he despatched couriers to Hindustân, who brought back with them ten thousand singers and dancers. It is related that he distributed them all over the country, and the Persians intermarried with them. The Jats are said to be their offspring, and therefore a Jat can be found but seldom who is not also a musician.

After Behrâm had entirely become absorbed in pleasures and amusements, the rumour spread in the world that he cared very little for the affairs of government and of the religion, so that foreigners began to entertain designs of invading the country. The Khâqân of China crossed the Jaihûn with two hundred and fifty thousand cavalry and

infantry, and began to kill and to plunder in Erân. Some state that the Khâqân cast his anchor of permanency at Merv, while others assert that he continued his march until he arrived in the province of Rei. The grandees and nobles of Persia were much troubled by this event, and although they requested Behrâm to collect an army for the purpose of expelling the enemy, they could effect nothing. His only reply was: 'God the Most High is bountiful and clement. I hope His mercy will not allow me to fall into the hands of my enemies.' When the courtiers departed from his assembly, they said to each other: 'He has no sense left, and dreads the bravery of the enemy.' Behrâm meanwhile took seven royal princes and high military officers, with three hundred champions, who had no hesitation to enter the jaws of lions and throats of dragons, together with numerous leopards and falcons, and marching out of his capital as if for the purpose of hunting, left the administration in charge of his brother Nursi. Behrâm thus marched to Azarbaijân, the inhabitants whereof took it for certain that his dread of the Khâqân had impelled him to flee. Therefore the officers of his government and other managers of public affairs agreed to despatch a smooth-tongued ambassador to the Khâqân, who might, by offering him tribute, land them on the shore of safety from the billows of his wrath. When the Khâqân was informed of this news, he halted in the locality which he had reached, and established himself quietly. Then Behrâm marched into Armenia, and having taken into his service one thousand warriors, who considered fighting with elephants and rapacious lions to be but a child's play, he was by several scouts, whom he had hired, led through untravelled roads to the camp of the Khâqân. When he had nearly reached his destination, spies reported to him that the Khâqân was sitting at his ease, and occupied with various amusements, because the sounds of carousing and the melodies of flutes were heard, as if rising up to the mansions of the sun and moon. Behrâm took this to be a good opportunity, and the nights being dark, he divided his cavalry into four

portions, which rushed upon the army of the Khâqân like a sudden judgment. From the shrill fifes and the large brass drums, the Turks [*sic*] concluded that the angel Esrafil was blowing the trump of the resurrection. Behrâm himself entered the tent of the Khâqân, and after severing his arrogant head from the body, pursued the fugitives as far as the banks of the Jaihûn.

In the *Târikh* of Abu Hanifah Dinvari it is recorded that when the invasion of the Khâqân into Khorâsân had become known, Behrâm selected one thousand men from among his best warriors of the time, and ordered them to ride on camels, but to lead their horses. He likewise commanded every one of them to take a falcon and a dog. He left his brother Nursi to be his viceroy in the government, and marched in the direction of Azarbaijân, the inhabitants of which province seemed to be certain that he was fleeing from the Khâqân, and as soon as he had departed, the Sardârs of the Persians agreed to send many presents to the Khâqân, and to offer him their homage.

When the King of Turkestân [*sic*] heard this news, the vapour of pride and arrogance mounted into his brains, and he halted in the vicinity of Merv to wait for the arrival of the gifts. Behrâm ordered seven thousand cows to be slaughtered, the hides of which he took, and also seven thousand young horses one year old. He marched, always in the night, through Tabaristân, Jorjân, and Nasâr, but when he had nearly reached the camp of the Khâqân, he moistened the hides of the cows, so that they recovered their original form; then he filled them with pebbles, and had them tied to the young foals, which were in a dark night chased towards the camp of the Khâqân. When the Turks [*sic*] heard the awful sounds, they knew not whence they came; but when the horses approached the soldiers, they became frightened and fled. Behrâm pursued the fugitives, and when he reached the Khâqân, he slew him with his own hand. It is said that Behrâm pursued the fleeing army as far as the Jaihûn, and that, halting there, he sent one of his generals to the country of Ma-vara-an-

nder [Transoxiana] to subjugate it. The kings of the eastern country, however, sent ambassadors and letters so frequently, and sued so much for peace, that Behrâm erected a tower in that region to be like a frontier-post between the two kingdoms, which their respective armies should not transgress. When peace was established, Behrâm returned joyfully to his capital, and departed some time afterwards to Hindustan by way of amusement.

GOING OF BEHRÂM GÛR TO INDIA, AND THE EVENTS OF THAT TIME.

Historians have in different ways recorded the departure of Behrâm to India, his adventures there, and the manner of his return to his own country. The following account is compiled from the narratives of Ebn Athir, and Muhammad Bin Jarir Tabari: When Behrâm had victoriously returned to his own country, he remitted the tribute due to him by his own subjects, and surrendered the reins of the administration into the hands of Nursi, who was one of the most intelligent men of the age, and of the lineage of Behmen Bin Esfendiar, and all of a sudden conceived the idea of examining the state of the kings and governments of India, and to see all the curiosities of that part of the world. Accordingly he entrusted all the affairs of his kingdom to his accomplished wazir Nursi, and began his journey, after duly performing which he reached the capital of India. There he constantly occupied himself with the chase and with travelling, greatly astonishing the Hindus by his horsemanship and archery. It was reported to the King of India that a handsome cavalier had arrived from Persia, the like of whom in beauty of person and in bravery had never been seen. Before any meeting had taken place between the king and Behrâm, a report was spread in the city that a very powerful elephant came out daily from a certain desert, posted himself on the road, and killed any person who attempted to pass that way. This news having been brought to the notice of the king, he appointed some

Hindu warriors to remove the savage animal, but their efforts were not successful, numerous persons were destroyed, and traffic on the said road ceased. This event spurred the courage of Behrâm, who proceeded thereon to attack the elephant, but was accompanied by a man whom the king had sent with him, for the purpose of bringing back a true account of the conflict. Accordingly the man took up his position on the top of a tree, whence he observed Behrâm arriving, and the elephant advancing towards him. The lion-hearted sovereign then drew an arrow from his quiver, and so hit the elephant on the forehead as to despatch him immediately into non-existence. Then he alighted from his charger, and grasping the trunk of the elephant with both hands, drew it towards himself, so as to make him drop on his knees; then he separated with his scimitar the head of the brute from the body. When Behrâm had arrived from the desert, he erected the head of the elephant in a public thoroughfare, so that the champions of Hindustân became astonished at his valour. The messenger reported the whole transaction to the king, who then ordered Behrâm to be presented to him, and when he asked him who he was, Behrâm replied: 'I am a Persian officer, and was for some time in the service of Behrâm Gûr, who is the monarch of that land. He had been made inimical to me by some envious and ill-disposed persons; I feared his displeasure, and took refuge in this country, hoping to enjoy safety and peace under the shadow of your majesty's protection.' The King of India being pleased with the affability and demeanour of Behrâm, gave him many presents, and enrolled him among his courtiers.

The bravery of Behrâm became daily more and more known, and he rose in the favour of the king. A powerful enemy having afterwards attacked the king, Behrâm advised him to march out and to encounter his foe. Accordingly the King of India left his city for the purpose of fighting, and when the two armies came in sight of each other, they were drawn up in lines. Behrâm then stepped forward, and enjoined the Indian warriors to keep watch in his

rear, so as to enable him to fight boldly in front. Then he turned his face towards the enemy, and with every arrow he shot he prostrated a warrior to the ground, and in every onslaught he made with his sword he split in twain the body of some celebrated champion. When the enemies perceived the strength of his arm, they took to flight, and the King of India returned victoriously to his capital, where he overwhelmed Behrâm with honours, gave him his daughter in marriage with a rich dowry, desiring to make him viceroy of the kingdom, and his successor on the throne. On this occasion Behrâm revealed what he had for so long a time kept secret, and said: 'I am Behrâm Gûr.' At these words the king became afraid, and asked: 'What are thy commands?' Behrâm replied: 'Be comforted, I have no need of thy kingdom; but if convenient, restore a few of my towns on the frontier, and now in thy possession Continue, however, to govern them, nevertheless, but pay annual tribute for them into my treasury.' The king assented, and Behrâm, having married his daughter, returned with her and abundant property to his own country after an absence of two years

After his return from India he ordered his wazir Nursi to invade Rûm with forty thousand cavalry, he himself marching at the same time with the Persian army to Qostantiniah [Constantinople], the governor whereof he compelled to obey him, and to pay him tribute. When Behrâm had returned from Rûm, he marched in person to Yaman, where he slew many men, plundered numerous localities, and then retraced his steps to his own country.

It is related that when the close of his life was at hand, Behrâm, whilst engaged in the chase, had fallen into a well and could not be found. His mother went to the spot, and by her command as much soil was drawn out from the well as might have reached up to the firmament, but no trace of the corpse of Behrâm could be discovered. According to the most authentic and general statement, the duration of his reign amounted to sixty-three years.[267]

[267] It is doubtful whether it lasted so long.

REIGN OF YAZDEJERD BIN BEHRÂM.

When he ascended the throne he recalled Nursi, the wazir of his father—who had retired and become a devotee in a fire temple—to public life, appointed him prime minister, and governed his subjects with justice. The surrounding potentates continued to pay their annual tribute into the treasury as in the time of his father Behrâm, while he himself imitated by his equity the ways of his ancestors, and of Kaiomarth the Peshdâdian.

After several years had elapsed the King of Rûm ceased to pay his usual tribute, whereon the Shâh of Erân despatched his prime minister Nursi with a numerous army of brave men to that country. When the Governor of Rûm had become aware of their bravery, he paid whatever he owed, whereon Nursi returned after having successfully accomplished his mission.

Yazdejerd is said to have had two sons, the name of the senior being Firûz, and of the junior Hormuz; but as the latter was his favourite, he appointed Firûz to be governor of the territory of Nimrûz [which consisted of the provinces of Mehrân and Sejestân], and made Hormuz his heir-apparent, saying: 'Although the personal appearance of Firûz is more imposing, and he is several years older than Hormuz, I prefer the latter on account of his intelligence, modesty, and worth.' When eighteen years of the reign of Yazdejerd had elapsed, he was gathered to his fathers. He kept up a powerful and respected government, and was surnamed 'the soldier's friend.'

REIGN OF HORMUZ BIN YAZDEJERD.

After the demise of Yazdejerd, Hormuz ascended the throne, but was tyrannical and ill-natured. When his brother Firûz heard of what had taken place, he departed to the country of Hayatalah to crave assistance, stating that his father had acted unjustly by appointing Hormuz to be king. After the ruler of Hayatalah had taken an oath from Firûz concerning the truth of his assertion, he

gave him one thousand soldiers on condition of leaving Turân, with its dependencies, in his possession. Thus Firûz attacked Hormuz with his army and vanquished him, but,—according to the most trustworthy authorities—forgave him his transgressions, and sent back his auxiliaries to Hayatalah with many presents.

Hâfez Abru states that the character of Hormuz was most excellent. He was just, moral, and good-natured:

Verses: Hormuz was righteous like Yazdejerd,
He was a pure-minded sovereign;
Though brave and dignified like Esfendiar,
In wisdom and foresight he was Kaikobâd.

In the *Mufâtih-ul-u'lûm* it is stated that his sobriquet was 'the sage,' and according to the author of the *Târikh Ja'fari*, the reign of Hormuz lasted one year, but nothing is said of this in any other history.

Reign of Firûz.

Ebn Athir states that Firûz ascended the throne after the murder of his brother Hormuz and three of his relatives, and that he displayed good temper with much justice. After he had reigned one year a cessation of rain took place, which lasted seven years, so that the water in the rivers became painfully low, the price of corn rose, and a great famine prevailed in the land. The famishing people were compelled to be satisfied during the day with the sight of the loaf of the sun, and in the night by looking at the moon. They gave up all hopes of seeing real bread.

Muhammad Bin Jarir Tabari states that not a drop of water was left in the rivers Jaihûn and Tigris, that all springs and canals were dried up, and that all the quadrupeds and birds had died, neither was any kind of plant growing on the earth. Ebn Athir states that during the time of the dearth Firûz disbursed all the money of his treasury to his subjects. He also sent couriers in all directions, ordering the wealthy people to relieve the destitute according to their best abilities, and to warn them that

they would be punished if they allowed any persons to die of starvation; accordingly, during all that time only one man in the town of Ardeshirgard died from want.

When the distress had reached its extreme stage, Firûz and his subjects turned their faces towards the court of the Omnipotent Sovereign, quenching the fire of their hunger with the tears of their eyes until the Bountiful Giver opened the portals of His mercy, whereon corn became cheap, and trouble was changed to peace. Gradually the towns and villages, with their fields, began to prosper again, the water of springs, rivers, and canals flowed as before; and for the sake of warning the enemies of the realm a supernatural herald perpetuated the saying:

Distich: Say to the foolish ignicolist enemy,
Repent! for the water has returned again.

After the inhabitants of Erân had been delivered of so great a calamity, Firûz determined to invade the country of Hayatalah, to relieve the oppressed who had on account of the tyranny of that country's king sought refuge at his court. He collected an army, paid no attention to the warnings of his councillors, who besought him not to break the treaties existing between the two countries, and thus become with his subjects guilty of the crime of transgressing the said covenants.

The detailed account of this affair is as follows: When the King of Hayatalah was informed of the approach of Firûz, he was greatly disquieted, and one of his courtiers, perceiving the distressed state of the king's mind, said: 'The way to nullify the evil intentions of Firûz will be to cut off my hands and feet, and to expose me on a certain road where Firûz must pass, and by the favour of God I shall be able to avert the calamity, but your majesty must provide for my family.' The king accepted this advice, and executed it. When Firûz arrived, his followers perceived the just-mentioned courtier on the road, and reported that they had found a man whose hands and feet had been cut off. Accordingly, Firûz ordered that cunning

individual to be brought into his presence, and examined him. His statement was this: 'I have been one of the courtiers of Khoshnavâz, King of Hayatalah, but as I advised him not to oppress his subjects, and not to resist the King of Persia, whom he would be unable to contend with, he put me in the state in which you now see me, and exposed me to become the prey of wild beasts.' Firûz took pity on him, and gave him many presents; after duly thanking him, the man spoke as follows: 'If you wish to attack King Khoshnavâz, it will be prudent to fall upon him unawares on this road through the desert, which is very near, and I shall point it out.' Firûz, beguiled by the speech of this man, marched into the desert contrary to the advice of many of his people, so that his whole army perished of thirst, and only he himself escaped half dead, with a few companions, from this calamity after undergoing a thousand hardships. Thus he arrived in the country of Hayatalah, to the king of which he sent a messenger to implore security. Khoshnavâz sent the following reply: 'Although I have treated thee well, and have aided thee with troops and money to recover thy kingdom, thou hast in return for all these favours yielded to the intreaties of a number of unprincipled scoundrels, and hast invaded my country for the purpose of overthrowing my government, but hast experienced the fate which thou hast deserved. If thou art, however, prepared now again to renew the treaty honestly, and will after this attempt neither personally nor by means of others to despatch forces against me, I shall send thee back to Erân honourably and decently, and shall again reseat thee on thy throne.' Firûz was obliged to agree to this proposal whether he liked it or not, and to swear an oath to that effect. Then Khoshnavâz bestowed various favours upon him, and allowed him to return to his country, but Firûz could not forget his disgrace, and, coiling himself up like a serpent, meditated day and night how to take revenge and conquer his enemy.

March of Firûz against Khoshnavâz, and the End of Firûz.

When Satan had again induced Firûz to break the treaty of peace with Khoshnavâz, he called Soukher, the Governor of Sejestân, who was a descendant of Minucheher, and giving the administration of the kingdom, together with his two sons, Bellâsh and Qobâd, into his charge, he determined to invade Hayatalah. When his Mobeds and well-wishers threatened him with the consequences entailed by the transgression of covenants, he always replied: 'I do not want to hear anything.' Accordingly, he marched against the King of Hayatalah, who in his turn advanced towards him, and dug in the rear of his army a broad and deep fosse, which he covered on the top with light twigs, and then got ready for an encounter. When the armies met, Khoshnavâz bore the document of the treaty of peace on a spear, reading a portion of it to Firûz, but without producing any effect. A short while afterwards champions stepped forth on both sides with their steeds, and the contest began. Khoshnavâz then retreated along a road which he had left near the above-mentioned fosse, but Firûz, pursuing his enemy hotly, was precipitated into it with the majority of his courtiers and attendants. Then Khoshnavâz returned slaughtering and plundering; he also captured the daughter of Firûz, who was one of the most intelligent women of those times:

> 'What a wise king to keep away his sons from the war, but to bring his daughters to witness it!'

When the news of this great calamity had reached Soukher, who was the Governor of Erân on the part of Firûz, he collected a large army and marched to Hayatalah, where finally peace was concluded between Soukher and Khoshnavâz, on condition that the latter restored the prisoners and the goods he had taken. This having been done, Soukher returned contented to Persia, where he installed on the throne Bellâsh Bin Firûz, whose brother Qobâd had fled, and had taken refuge with the King of

Turkestân. According to one statement, the reign of Firûz lasted twenty-six, and according to another twenty-one, years, and his sobriquet was 'the valiant.'

REIGN OF BELLÂSH.

When Bellâsh commenced to reign he was just and equitable, and honoured Soukher with many favours. He built the towns of Sâbât and Madâin, and for every man who emigrated from his native place, Bellâsh punished the governor of it, saying: 'That unfortunate man has left his country on account of thy tyranny.' In the beginning of the reign of Bellâsh, Qobâd fled from Madâin to the territory of Ma-vara-an-nahr. When he had arrived within the boundaries of Nishapûr, he complained of the intensity of his sexual instinct to Azarmehr Bin Soukher, who was his friend. The latter accordingly selected for him the daughter of one of the grandees of that place, and induced her parents to agree to the match. During the night of the wedding, Qobâd quenched the fire of his passion, and his wife became pregnant; but the next morning he sent her back to her parents with many gifts, and departed to Turkestân. The royal prince travelled until he arrived in the metropolis of the Khâqân, where he remained four years. After that the Khâqân gave him a valiant negro companion, and sent him back to Erân. When he arrived in Nishapûr he inquired for the father of his spouse, and obtained the information that she had been delivered of a son, to whom the royal prince then gave the name of Naushirvân. In the same place the news reached him that his brother Bellâsh had departed this life, and Qobâd, thinking it to be a good foreboding to take Naushirvân with him, conveyed the young prince and his mother with all gentleness to Madâin.

REIGN OF QOBÂD BIN FIRÛZ.

When Qobâd had established himself on the throne, he bestowed various favours on Soukher—whom Persian historians call Souqer—and left him in charge of all important

[illegible] as hitherto. The consequence of this step, however, was that the Persians began to consult in all affairs Soukher alone, whom they esteemed more than the king, so that nothing but the name of sovereign was left to Qobâd. This state of affairs naturally displeased the monarch, and he revealed his intention of amending it to Shâpur Sapabud, who was a man of great intelligence, and the latter replied: 'Let the king be comforted, for I shall to-morrow remove this disquietude from his mind.' Accordingly the next day Shâpur quarrelled on some subject with Soukher, in the presence of Qobâd, which altercation ended with the imprisonment of Soukher, and a few days afterwards he suffered capital punishment by order of the king.

Aften ten years had elapsed of the reign of Qobâd, a man from Estakhar [Persepolis], named Mazdak, made his appearance, and desired to found a new religion. The details of this affair are as follows: Mazdak, having been presented to Qobâd, introduced himself as a prophet, made a cellar under a fire temple, communicating with the fire by means of an aperture, and secreted a man underground. He stated to Qobâd that his miracle consisted in causing the fire to speak to him. The king went to the temple, and Mazdak, addressing the fire in his presence, received answers. The king was deceived, and, becoming a disciple of Mazdak, made profession of his religion, the tenets of which were as follows: All possessions and females were the common property of the people; sexual intercourse among relatives was made licit in all degrees of consanguinity; but the killing of animals and the eating of their flesh was prohibited. Mazdak preached that all ought to be satisfied with vegetable food, eggs, milk and the like. He put on woollen garments, practised devotions, and gathered around himself many adherents among the destitute and reckless, whose numbers increased so much that they became powerful, and the profligate among them drew rich women into their meshes, and accumulated much property, so that no infant was certain

who was his father, and no man could trust in the safety of his property.

It is related that one day Mazdak asked Qobâd to give him the mother of Naushirvân; the king agreed, but his son kissed the hands and feet of Mazdak until he desisted from his request. When the corruptions of Mazdak had greatly spread in the world, the chiefs and grandees of Persia unanimously removed Qobâd from the government, and installed his brother Jâmasp on the throne.

The Captivity and Escape of Qobâd, and his Re-instalment on the Throne.

After the grandees of Persia had removed Qobâd from the throne, and had imprisoned him, they intended also to kill Mazdak; but as the number of his faithful adherents was excessive, it became impossible to get hold of him. Therefore they determined first to slay Qobâd, and then to turn their attention to Mazdak with his followers.

Qobâd had a sister, whose beauty was unequalled among the women of Persia; he had, moreover, with the approbation of Mazdak, kept up an extremely intimate connection with her. She was desirous of rescuing Qobâd from captivity by a stratagem, and adorning her person, visited the gaoler of her brother, and besought him to grant her an interview with him. The man, captivated by the fairy-like attractions of the princess, replied that he would allow her to see Qobâd on condition of her complying with his desires. She promised compliance, and was admitted to the presence of her brother, whose company she left after she had enjoyed it for awhile. Coming out, she told the gaoler that she would now be willing to yield to his wishes, but that he must yet excuse her for one night, on account of a certain well-known state to which all women are subject. As connection with a female in her courses was also at that time considered abominable, the gaoler accepted the subterfuge. The princess was allowed again to spend the night with her brother, and when the morn dawned she

loaded a servant with bedding [in which her brother was concealed]. When the lady came out, the gaoler inquired about the baggage, but she stated that, as her brother was unwilling to take his rest on a bed on which a menstruating woman had slept, he had ordered it to be taken away, and another to be sent in lieu thereof.

After his escape from prison, Qobâd remained concealed for a time, till the search for him had ceased. Then he proceeded with some of his followers to Hayatalah. Abu Hanifah Dinvari states that when Qobâd arrived during his journey in a village situated between Ahvâz and Esfahân, he alighted in the house of a country gentleman who was a descendant of Feridûn, and there he wedded the mother of Naushirvân and remained three days. On the fourth he hastened to his destination, and arrived in due time in the territory of Hayatalah, where he was obliged to remain several years, whether he liked it or not. At last the governor of that country gave him thirty thousand men, with whom he marched to Erân. When Qobâd had reached the vicinity of Madâin, a tumult took place among the citizens, who said: 'If a war takes place between the two kings, we do not know what will become of us.' At last, however, they agreed to obey Qobâd, and went over *en masse* to his camp, from that of their own sovereign whom they had formerly elected. They waited on Qobâd, who pardoned their transgressions, and even those of his brother. He made Azarmehr Bin Soukher his prime minister, and after repairing all the devastations existing in the country, he fortified the boundaries thereof. During this, the second period of his reign, he did not allow Mazdak nor his followers to be persecuted any more. He was a sovereign fond of building, and laid the foundations of many towns; it is said that Berda' Kunjah and Miafâraqin were built by him. Towards the end of his reign he invaded Rûm, and came back victorious. He died after a reign of forty-three years. His sobriquet was 'the well-intentioned'; his brother was surnamed 'the beloved'; and his other brother, Jâmasp, 'the proud.'

Reign of Kesra Bin Qobâd [Chosroes I.], who is known by the Name of Naushirvân the Just.[illegible]

Historians state that Qobâd had many children, but that Naushirvân greatly excelled them all in his good disposition and talents. His intellect was of so high an order that whilst yet a minor, and his father on the throne, experienced and aged men acted in conformity with his advice. It is related that one day Qobâd said to Naushirvân: 'All good qualities are united in thee, but thou hast one fault, because thou entertainest many suspicions concerning the sincerity of men. I do not tell thee not to act according to thy own opinions, but thou must trust some men, because misplaced suspicions retard the execution of many good works.' Naushirvân craved pardon, and accepted the suggestion of his father.

It is said that Qobâd made his last will and testament towards the close of his life, and entrusted it to the chief Mobed. He had therein declared Naushirvân to be the heir of his kingdom. At the demise of Qobâd this testament was read to the true heirs, and Naushirvân refused to be invested with the insignia of the government, saying: 'The affairs of the administration have become confused, and discord has arisen among the people. Whoever attempts in this emergency to govern the realm with justice will incur your displeasure. If I take this duty upon myself, I shall have to offend you; bloodshed will ensue, many families will be ruined, and such a state of things would afflict me.' The scholars, however, and the grandees pressed him much, assured him that they would obey him in all things, even as far as to sacrifice their lives and property for him. At last Naushirvân yielded to their request, ascended the throne, and spoke as follows: 'My power extends only to your bodies, and not to your hearts, because no one except the Omnipotent Creator is aware of what passes in the human breast. Therefore I

[illegible] Reigned from A.D. 530 to 578. See account of him in Gibbon's 'Roman Empire' as Chosroes I. (ch. xlii.).

shall judge your acts, and not your intentions. My commands will be based on justice, and not on whims, so that when the affairs of the realm, which are now in a state of disorganization, return again to their normal and pacific condition, by the aid of a just administration, our monarchy will become firmly established, and its transactions will find a permanent memorial in the history of the world.'

Distich : Behold of good acts the reward !
The sway of Kesra is on record !

Compilers of histories have stated that the first sentence of punishment issued by the new government was that of the execution of Mazdak with his followers. Chroniclers inform us that at first Naushirvân treated Mazdak with kindness, and admitted him to his private society. One day, however, an adherent of Mazdak placed violent hands on the wife of a certain man, who immediately laid his complaint before the king. The latter then instructed Mazdak to order the profligate fellow to desist from his nefarious proceedings; but as Mazdak paid not the least attention to this command, Naushirvân ordered him to be beheaded. The execution of Mazdak produced an insurrection among his adherents, whereon the royal mandate went forth to extirpate them all. On that occasion search was made in Madâin and all over the country, and wherever a Mazdakian could be found, he was immediately slain.

Some are of opinion that Kesra pretended to entertain friendship for Mazdak, and requested him to write down the names of his followers, that they might be invested with dresses of honour, and invited to a suitable banquet. Mazdak, having thus been put off his guard, produced a detailed list of his adherents, to whom Kesra afterwards issued invitations, and on the appointed day, when they had assembled, the royal table-deckers conducted them in detachments to a garden where pits had been dug, and in lieu of finding the promised dinner, they were all thrown into the said pits by the royal officers, the same fate overtaking also Mazdak.

In the Kâmel-ut-tovârikh it is related that Munzar Bin Omm-us-saha, from Arabia, whom Qobâd had deprived of his government because he refused to make profession of the religion of Mazdak, had in the beginning of the reign of Naushirvân come to his court to offer his services, and happened to be seated near Mazdak in an audience. On that occasion Naushirvân said: 'Before I was invested with the insignia of royalty, I had two wishes.' Mazdak desiring to know what they were, the king replied: 'One was to reappoint Munzar to his government, and the other to extirpate the Zendiqs.'[269] Mazdak asked: 'How canst thou slay the whole world?' which words so incensed the king that he ordered Mazdak to be killed, which was done. Then gallows were erected at Naharvân, on which in a single afternoon one hundred thousand Zendiqs suffered the penalty of death by hanging. From that day the king was called Naushirvân, which means 'renovator of the kingdom.' When Naushirvân had exterminated Mazdak with his followers, he restored the property taken by them to their owners, and the women to their husbands.

Hâfez Abru has related in his History that when the slaughter of the Mazdakians had surpassed all bounds, Naushirvân feared the population might become extinct. Therefore he spared the lives of the rest of the Mazdakians, but confiscated their possessions and restored them to their rightful owners; if, however, they were not living, their heirs obtained them, and if also these could not be found, the money was applied to the cultivation of such localities as had been devastated at the time Mazdak had enjoyed authority. The king also ordered the cultivators to be provided with agricultural instruments and cattle, as well as seeds, in order to enable them to work in their fields. Those who had emigrated he ordered to return to their birthplaces. He also commanded uneven roads to be levelled, and built strong forts on the boundaries, which he garrisoned with active men for the protection of the highways. He appointed governors and other officials accord-

[269] Here, not the readers of Zend [Avesta], but *heretics*, are meant.

ing to the custom of the times of Ardeshir Bâbeg; he also built large and small bridges; he also took so great an interest in the welfare of the people that whenever he discovered any man who had suffered wrong he endeavoured to redress it. It is stated in the *Ghoniah* 'that he ordered every bridge that had been cut, every arch which had been broken, and every village that had been destroyed, to be rebuilt, and to be placed in a condition better than it had ever been before; and he facilitated the ways [or intercourse ?] of men.'

Abu Hanifah Dinvari has related that Kesra divided his empire into four parts, and that at this time the Khâqân of China, having assembled his troops, marched from his capital on a conquering expedition, and took possession of Farghanah, Samarqand, Bokhâra, and Kush. When this was reported to Kesra he despatched his son Hormuz with a large army against the enemy, but as soon as the Khâqân was informed of the proximity of the troops he abandoned all the countries he had taken, and hastened to the frontiers of Turkestân, so that the saying, 'Our king took the country and went away,' became [ironically] applicable to him.

Meanwhile Khâled Bin Jamilah Ghussani invaded the country of Munzar II., whose mother's name was Omm-us-saha, and who was governor of Hira on the part of Naushirvân. After he had slain many of Munzar's companions, and taken much property, with horses and camels, Munzar represented his case to Naushirvân, who, being on friendly terms with the Qaisar of Rûm, sent him a letter to the effect that he should order Khâled to pay the blood-ransom for the people he had killed, and to restore to Munzar all the property he had taken, because Khâled was one of the officers of the Qaisar. The latter, however, paid no attention to the letter, which circumstance so kindled the ire of Kesra that he collected an army, numerous as locusts, and marched to conquer the region which was in the possession of the agents of the Qaisar. First he invaded Mesopotamia, which he conquered, and afterwards occupied such cities of Syria as

Hams and Aleppo; but when he reached Antioch, which was one of the best of them, Naushirvân was so pleased with its site that he ordered its plan to be taken, and skilled artisans were hired to build a town precisely like it in the vicinity of Madâin. When the new town was completed it was called Rûmiah, and all the inhabitants of Antioch were compelled to take up their abodes therein. The streets, wards, and houses were so arranged that everyone who entered the town could find his house without the least hesitation. It is related that the difference between the two towns amounted to nothing more than that a farmer from old Antioch had a tree in front of his house, whereas none was at his door in the new town.

When this news [of the invasion] had reached the Qaisar he sent one embassy after another to offer apologies and to sue for peace. Naushirvân replied that he would agree on the condition that the Qaisar ransomed all the provinces taken from his viceroys. The Qaisar, being anxious to please Naushirvân, sent him large sums of money as well as costly presents, nevertheless the countries of Syria, Mesopotamia, Hejâz, Tâif, and Yaman, together with Bahrâin and O'mân, remained in the possession of Naushirvân. Abu Hanifah Dinvari states that peace was established in such a manner that the Qaisar annually sent tribute from the provinces Naushirvân had conquered [after they had been restored to him]. The reason why that righteous king conquered the country of Yaman will be narrated in the beginning of the second volume [*i.e.*, second part] if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

Revolt of Nushizâd Bin Kesra against his Father, and the Turn of his Affairs.

Ancient chroniclers have narrated that Naushirvân possessed a queen the like of whom in beauty had never existed in this world, and who was of the Christian religion:

Distich: A Christian lady of spiritual mind
To the spirit of God fully inclined.

Kesra entreated her in vain to renounce Christianity, but as he was bewitched by his spouse he acted according to the maxim: 'You have your religion, and I mine.'[270] After some time this lady gave birth to a son of great beauty, called Nushizâd. When this prince had attained the years of discretion he made profession of the religion of his mother, and refused to become an ignicolist, despite of all the entreaties of his father. This obstinacy alienated the affection of Naushirvân from him, so that he imprisoned the refractory youth. When Kesra invaded Syria he fell sick in that country, and this news reaching Nushizâd, he considered it a good opportunity to escape from prison, which he did, and then gathered around himself numerous adherents, but more especially Christians. He succeeded in enlisting an army of thirty thousand men, and of ejecting the officials of his father from the provinces of Fârs and Ahvâz. He also propagated the rumour of Naushirvân's death in those regions, and marched furthermore to invade E'râq. When Kesra was apprised of this state of affairs he sent the following letter to Râmberzin, who was one of his chief officers in the country of Erân: 'On the strength of the rumour of my death my son Nushizâd has divided the kingdom into several portions, over each of which he has appointed a man of high position as governor. One portion consists of Khorâsân, Sejestân, and Kermân; the second is Esfahân, Gaillân, Azarbaijân, and Armenia; the third is Fârs and Ahvâz, and the fourth is E'râq, as far as the boundaries of Rûm. After having thus arranged the affairs of the realm, he invaded Turkharestân, conquered Kabulistân, and Choganiân, with the country of Hayatalah. Hearing that I was dead, he acted hastily before ascertaining the truth, and also liberated a number of persons whom I had kept in prison. It is my wish that you extirpate all the evil-disposed persons who are as yet in concealment, and that you be not dismayed by the great number of Christians; they have no great power. If Nushizâd returns to obedience, and again imprisons my captives; if he exterminates

[270] Qurân, ch. cix. 6.

the chiefs and nobles who have obeyed him, and if he causes his other vagabonds to depart wherever they like, he is welcome. But if he persists in his obstinacy and disobedience, then Râmberzin is to make haste to attack him, and if he captures him not to injure one hair of his head, but to keep him prisoner with his companions in the locality in which he was caught. He is to be provided with everything he stands in need of, but no man of the army is to be allowed to speak to him, for:

Distich: My heart bears abundant testimony
That the dishonourable fellow is my son.'

Having sealed the letter, he despatched it by a courier to Râmberzin. As soon as the commander-in-chief of Erân had perused the letter of the king he hastened with a powerful army towards Nushizâd. The prince on his part likewise marched with an army, and Shamâs at its head—Shamâs, surnamed Rûmi, being a celebrated warrior of those times and the champion of the troops—against Râmberzin. When the two armies met in battle-array, the right wing attacked the left of Râmberzin, conquered it and made great carnage. Râmberzin then ordered the rest of the army

Distich: To pour forth a shower of arrows,
To transmute the air into a vernal cloud.

On this occasion an arrow struck Nushizâd suddenly in a mortal part, and he forthwith expired. As soon as the army of Nushizâd became aware of the fate of its leader it took to flight. Râmberzin approached the deathbed of Nushizâd with lamentation and weeping. He ordered that no more persons be killed or plundered, and asked the bishop, who had been one of the favourites of Nushizâd, whether the prince had left any injunctions to him. The reply was that the last words of the prince had been these. 'Tell my mother to give me a Christian burial.' But Abu Hanifah Dinvari states that Nushizâd was [not slain, but only] captured in this battle.

After Naushirvân had appointed Munzar Bin Omm-ussaha to govern Arabia, he proceeded to Madâin, and thence

despatched a general with a numerous army to Hindustân, who marched as far as Serandip.[371] The King of Hindustân then despatched an ambassador with countless presents to Naushirvân to sue for peace, which was concluded on the condition that the country opposite to the shores of O'mân, and adjoining Erân, be surrendered to the viceroy of Naushirvân. After this treaty had been made the sovereign of Persia sent an ambassador, who recalled the army from India.

In some histories it is related that when the sovereignties of Ma-vara-an-nahr, of Khorâsân, of Tabaristân, of Jorjân, of Fârs, of Kermân, of a portion of Hindustân and of E'râq, of Mesopotamia, of O'mân, of Bahrâin, of Yamamah, of Yaman, and of Northern Africa, had been concentrated under the sway of Naushirvân, he occupied himself with regulations concerning the administration of the government. He established equitable laws with reference to the ground-tax, because hitherto one-half, one-third, fourth, fifth, or tenth part of the harvest of a field had been levied. He also fixed the capitation-tax to be paid by Christians and Jews, but exempted every person under twenty or over fifty years of age from all imposts due to the royal treasury. He appointed a high officer to superintend the drilling of the army, and to examine the weapons issued to the men from the royal arsenal. This officer took his position on a rich seat in an extensive plain, and issued a proclamation for all combatants to appear before him. As, however, Naushirvân appeared neither on the first nor on the second day, the names of the soldiers were not registered. On the third day the warriors were again summoned, with the additional remark that not even he whom God the Most High had presented with the diadem and throne should refuse to respond to the call. When Naushirvân heard this remark he likewise came to the place fully armed; his equipment, however, not being complete,

[371] A corruption of the Sanskrit expression *Suvarnadvipa*, 'gold-island,' generally supposed to be Ceylon, but according to European authors Sumatra.

because he had no cuirass and bow, the reviewing-officer abstained from entering his name until he had brought them. Then the reviewing-officer assigned to each warrior a stipend of four thousand dirhems, but marked to the name of Kesra four thousand and one dirhems. The parade having come to an end, the reviewing-officer left his seat, paid obeisance to Naushirvân, and spoke as follows: 'I beseech your majesty not to blame me for what I have done. My object was merely to establish justice and regularity in the army.' Kesra replied: 'I shall put up with the severity of any man who aims at the welfare of the realm in the same manner as a patient swallows a bitter draught to recover his health.'

It is related in some trustworthy books that when Naushirvân was fully established in his empire, and all men were awed by his glory and majesty, the kings of the surrounding regions sent embassies with presents to his most exalted court. One of these was the sovereign of China, who possessed a castle encrusted with gems and pearls, and from which two brooks flowed, watering camphor and lignum-aloe trees, the perfume whereof spread to a distance of two farsakhs, and two thousand maids waited on him in his harem. He sent an ambassador to Naushirvân with gifts, among which was a horseman and his charger, inlaid with pearls, the eyes both of the cavalier and his steed consisting of red rubies, and the hilt of the rider's sword of emeralds with other costly gems. He sent likewise a silken cloth which contained the portrait of the king sitting on his throne in full assembly, dressed in his regalia, and wearing a crown on his head. In his rear stood attendants, each of whom was dressed in a robe of blue silk, embroidered with gold. This gift was offered in a golden casket, borne by a slave-girl, whose stature was concealed by her own hair; whenever she removed it, her countenance shone according to the manner of lightning in a dark night.

The king sent a golden model of a palace, the gates whereof consisted of rubies. Also one thousand mauns of

Indian lignum-aloe, which melted in fire like wax. Also was a ruby bowl, one span in diameter, filled with pearls, and a girl seven spans high, but with eyelashes reaching down to her cheeks; lastly, a couch made of a serpent's skin, which was more soft to the touch than silk.

During the reign of Kesra, the book, 'Kalila va Dimna,'[illegible] the game of chess, and the black dye, were also brought from Hindustân to Persia. This dye was such that, when smeared on gray hair, it made the very roots thereof so black that they could not be distinguished from those which were naturally so.

The King of Thibet likewise sent various gifts to Naushirvân, among which were one hundred exquisite gilt coats of mail, and four thousand bags of musk.

It is related that the attainments of Naushirvân in the arts and sciences were unsurpassed by any [former] kings of Persia. He associated with men of learning, and knew their value. In his time the most excellent scholar and philosopher was Buzarjamehr Bin Bukhtagân.

NOTICE CONCERNING BUZARJAMEHR [BARZACHUMEHR] THE PHILOSOPHER.

Some historians state—but God knows whether they are correct—that one night Naushirvân had a vision in his sleep, in which he saw a tree growing in front of his throne. The king was pleased with this phenomenon, and called for wine, but whilst he was about to take the cup in his hand, a pig arrived and threw it away. Naushirvân was greatly dismayed to see a hog on his couch and drinking from his cup, so that he awoke, and called for his interpreters and soothsayers to explain the dream; but all of them confessed their inability to do so. The king's mind was, however, so engrossed with this vision that he gave money to several persons for the purpose of discovering an interpreter. One of these individuals, Azâdsurû by name, took a bag of gold

[illegible] The Sanskrit original of which is the *Pancha Tuntra*. About these works and their translations see 'Persian Portraits' [Bernard Quaritch, London], 1887, pp. 91-97.

by order of Naushirvân, and went in search of an interpreter. He travelled from town to town until he arrived in Merv, where, as his good luck would have it, he alighted at the door of a schoolmaster, whom he immediately asked whether he was dexterous in the interpretation of dreams. The reply was: 'I have studied the Zend Avesta with a master, but am not acquainted with the science of interpretation.' One of the disciples of this master, whose name was Buzarjamehr,[278] and who was at the same time distinguished by intelligence and acuteness, spoke as follows to Azâdsurû, 'Relate your story'; but the master interrupted him, and told him to remain silent. Azâdsurû, however, reproved the master for his incivility, and narrated the dream of Naushirvân, whereon Buzarjamehr said:

'I shall tell it to the king alone.
Be aware! he will place me near the throne.'

Azâdsurû played the part of an intelligent person, gave money and a horse to Buzarjamehr, and both departed to the royal court. On their journey they first happened to alight near a tree, whereon Buzarjamehr wrapped himself up in his night-blanket, and fell asleep. After awhile Azâdsurû perceived a black snake approaching from the desert towards Buzarjamehr, whose sheet it removed from his face, which it kissed, as well as the feet of the philosopher, and then crawled up the tree.

Distich. When the snake up the tree did creep,
The babe was awakened from his sleep.

Azâdsurû was naturally astonished at this circumstance, but mounted his horse again, and travelled with his companion day and night until they arrived at the royal court, where Azâdsurû made his report, and Buzarjamehr was summoned to the royal presence The philosopher, having been asked to explain the dream, declared that there was a young man in the royal harem enjoying illicit intercourse with one of the ladies, and represented that if his majesty

[278] Our author uses the Arabic form of the name, but the Persian is *Barzachu-mehr*, 'Bright as the sun'

was desirous to clear up this matter, the maids ought to be ordered to pass one by one before him. This was done, but the presence of the youth could not be discovered, as he had disguised himself in a female garb. Now Kesra became excited, but the philosopher nevertheless insisted that all the girls should be divested of their garments to verify his interpretation. Accordingly each was ordered to remove a portion of her dress, and

Verses : A youth appeared among them all
Of royal stature, like a cypress tall ;
His body as a willow trembled,
All his hopes of sweet life fled.

The daughter of the governor of the harem had introduced this youth secretly from her father's house, because a tender friendship existed between them since their childhood, and he lived in the harem. When this criminal affair was discovered, Naushirvân asked the girl who the youth was. She asserted, however, that he was her brother, whom she had brought from the country, and that he would not have been allowed to remain if he had been dressed in male garments. Then Naushirvân ordered both the girl and the youth to be capitally punished:

Verses . He suspended them in the harem,
Head downmost, gory soil around them.
To the interpreter gold he gave,
Horses and dresses he gave.

Henceforth Buzarjamehr grew day by day in the favour of the king, till he became wazir at last. Many wise maxims of this philosopher are on record, but historians are at variance, and I will not now delay to narrate them, but with the permission of your [*i.e.*, the Amir's] most noble and exalted excellency, shall relate some of the adventures of this learned philosopher in the fourth volume. In this place I shall confine myself to the twelve maxims which he enounced in the presence of Kesra and of his Mobeds: It is related that one day Naushirvân convoked a great assembly of Mobeds and scholars, challenging every one present to utter according to his best ability some

maxim useful to the sovereign and the people. The king questioned every one, and when the turn of Buzarjamehr arrived, he said that he would enumerate the duties of a king in twelve short sentences, and when Naushirvân asked what they were, he stated them as follows: '1. Abstinence from passions, carnal lusts, anger, and whims. 2. Truth in speech, with the keeping of promises and covenants. 3. Consultations on important affairs with learned men. 4. Due honour to nobles, scholars, and authors, according to their merits. 5. Appointment of judges, investigation of affairs, and the requital of the good and the wicked according to their deserts. 6. Examination of prisoners so that the guilty may be punished and the innocent liberated. 7. The safety of roads, bazars, and seas for the benefit of the people. 8. Legal punishments of criminals, and observance of the customs of the people concerning mourning. 9 Preparation of arms and of all equipments for war. 10. Love towards children and relatives, and providing for them. 11 Keeping spies to inform the king of what is going on in the country. 12. Maintenance of wazirs, courtiers, and of bodyguards.' Then Naushirvân ordered these sentences to be written with golden letters, and it is said that they are a synopsis of the art of government.

VARIOUS STORIES, AND A RECORD OF THE SAYINGS OF NAUSHIRVÂN

It is related that Ebn Rûmi,[274] surnamed Ashkal by the ancients, but now called *Shughâl*, arrived towards the end of the reign of Naushirvân from Turkestân, and made his appearance in the country of E'râq. At first the people were frightened, and trembled when they heard the voice of Shughâl [jackal]; but Naushirvân was only astonished, and asked a Mobed for the cause of the apparition of such a wild beast in his country. The Mobed replied that he had learnt from records of ancient times that whenever

[274] Curiously enough, the *jackal* is here called 'son of the Greek,' for his cunning

injustice predominated above equity in any country, wild animals invaded it. Naushirvân, struck by this information, secretly assembled thirteen persons in whom he placed full confidence, and ordered them to roam in disguise all about the country, and to make inquiries concerning the officials and agents of his government. They obeyed, and discovered that many revenue officials and scribes had committed misdemeanours. They thereon presented their report to Kesra, who immediately despatched a company of men to strike off the heads of ninety officials who had been convicted of tyranny and extortion. After this summary justice the king was satisfied, and the wolf adopted the sheep for his sister.[275]

It is related that on a certain occasion Naushirvân became displeased with an officer, and told him not to show his face at court. As it was customary with the sovereigns of Persia to hold once a year a general audience, the just-mentioned officer likewise made his appearance on that day at the public banquet given by Naushirvân, and threw down his table-cloth among the nobles of the court. They supposed that a reconciliation had taken place between him and the king, and therefore offered no opposition. Watching his opportunity, this officer took hold of a golden dish weighing one thousand mithqâls, but his theft was perceived by no one except by Naushirvân himself. The officer was allowed to depart to his house, but when the table-decker counted the royal plate, he found one dish wanting. Accordingly he placed the screw of torture upon his subordinates, but the king said: 'Let these poor wights alone, because he who has taken the dish will not return it, and he who has seen the theft committed will not reveal it.' The next year, on the day of the annual public levée, the same officer came again to pay obeisance to the king. As soon as the eye of Naushirvân caught sight of the man,

[275] This is a figure of speech to designate mutual confidence and general safety, just as some natives of India are wont to say that under the British government the lion and the sheep are drinking from the same brook together.

he beckoned to him, and whispered into his ear: 'Have you spent the amount of the past, that you have again presented yourself this year?' The officer then prostrated himself at the feet of Naushirvân, and began to make excuses; the righteous sovereign, however, pardoned his crime, and again received him into his service.

It is said that once an ambassador from the Qaisar arrived with gifts for Naushirvân, and having contemplated the dome of the Ayovân [name of a famous palace] of Kesra, greatly admired the height, ornamentation, and elegance of that edifice; but casting a glance on the irregularity of the open ground in front of the Ayovân, he asked for the reason of this incongruity. He was then told that the want of regularity must be ascribed to the following circumstance: An old woman possessed some land in that direction, and the king entreated her to sell him her house in order to make his grounds regular, but she persistently refused. Therefore the king left the property of the hag undisturbed. With reference to this statement the envoy of the Qaisar replied: 'Irregularities attributable to justice are better than straight lines resulting from tyranny'

Chroniclers have narrated of a Mobed having reported to Kesra that a certain commandant of the army had fallen asleep in the desert, and had been robbed of his clothes by a thief, and that he was now asking for permission to search for him. Naushirvân replied: 'I maintain commandants to take care of the army, but as this commandant needs a guard to take care of him, I dispense with his services.'—A certain individual had written a statement that there was a man whose wealth exceeded that of the king's treasury, but Naushirvân endorsed the petition as follows: 'If that man, or anyone else, possesses so large an amount of property, and injures no one, he is welcome to it.'—Another man wrote to him that the people are blessing the sovereign [ironically], because his treasury was empty, on account of his having given away all its contents as presents. To this complaint he replied as

follows: 'All the wealth accumulating in the treasury is the property of meritorious individuals, and if I do not bestow it upon them, it will be my fault.'—A person submitted a petition to the effect that as the king was constantly moving about with a number of persons, enemies were likewise on the alert, and possibly his majesty would be hurt by the 'evil eye.' Naushirvân wrote the following endorsement: 'Justice is the guardian of a righteous king.' —Another writing, in which it had been stated that a certain man had given away three millions of dirhems as alms, was endorsed by the king as follows: 'Whatever sum is given to worthy persons is to be considered as if it had been disbursed for our own expenses.'

It is related that when one day Kesra was sitting on the throne of power, and dispensing justice to the poor and oppressed, a philosopher said: 'I am anxious to know what has induced your majesty to perform those exalted acts?' The king replied: 'Once, when I was in the vigour of youth on a hunting expedition, I saw a pedestrian who broke the leg of a dog, by throwing a stone at it. Shortly afterwards a rider passed near the pedestrian, whose leg was in turn broken by a kick from the horse. The horseman rode further, but at last the leg of his horse was also fractured as the animal stepped into a mouse-hole. These events startled me, and the tongue of the circumstances suggested to me the idea that: "Whoever acts unjustly will be punished." And from that time I took warning.'

One of his sayings is: 'The most excellent king is not independent of his wazir, nor the wisest woman of her husband, nor the best horse of the whip, nor the finest sword of polishing.' He also said: 'A windy day is for sleeping, a cloudy day for hunting, and a rainy one for drinking, but a sunny day is good for carrying on business.'

It is said that none of the sons of Kesra were on the maternal side of royal blood, except Hormuz, whose mother was the daughter of the Khâqân of China. All his other children were the progeny of his own subjects or by slave-girls.

When forty-eight years of the reign of Naushirvân had elapsed, he was struck with a mortal disease; he then filled the ears of his son Hormuz with advice, and bequeathed to him his diadem and throne:

Verses: I heard that in his last agony,
Naushirvân spoke thus to his son Hormuz:
Bridle your temper, be of lowly mind,
And do not be a slave to comfort.

In a chronicle several distichs occur concerning Naushirvân, some of which are here inserted:

Verses: Be aware that among the perfect kings,
Not one was like Naushirvân the Just,
Liberal, righteous, prudent and learned,
A sage, a shrewd and a virtuous man.

Reign of Hormuz Bin Naushirvân.[276]

As Hormuz was of most noble descent, and possessed also many talents, Naushirvân disregarded the seniority of his other sons, and appointed him his successor. Hormuz treated the nobles and general community well in the beginning, and left the Amirs and officials of Naushirvân in their positions, and said:

Verses: 'The opinion of my father was better than mine,
And he knew the people better than I,'
This lasted as long as his Faith was right,
And all went by the wish of the king.
But he was excitable, his temper changed,
He acted counter to his usage and habit,
And began to slay the rich and the poor.

Hormuz then followed the advice of low-minded persons, degraded the judges from their stations, and said: 'It would not do that my slaves should govern me.' It is related that during his reign—which lasted twelve years according to one statement—he killed thirteen thousand nobles, grandees, and scholars of Persia, so that he alienated the minds of the people from himself. When the rumour of his cruelty had spread far and wide among Turks and Tâjiks, the kings of the adjacent countries began to enter-

[276] He reigned from A.D. 578 to 590. See Gibbon, ch. xlvi.

tain hostile feelings towards him. Among these was the Qaisar of Rûm, who invaded Erân with eighty thousand men, and when he had reached Nassibîn he made the restoration of all the countries which Naushirvân had taken from him the condition of his departure. The Circassians had passed beyond Darband, reached the heart of Azarbaijân, and plundered Armenia. A'bbâs Ahûl [the monoculous] and O'mar Azraq [the blue] had arrived from Arabia on the banks of the Euphrates and devastated the plains. The son of the Khâqân of China, who was the maternal uncle of Hormuz, passed, after the demise of his father, with an army of three millions, but according to another statement of four millions, across the Jaihûn, made Hirat and Bâdghuis his encamping grounds, and sent messengers to Hormuz commanding him to construct bridges and to repair the highways, as he intended to march to Rûm. All these rumours having been brought to the notice of Hormuz at Madâin, cowed him so far that he repented of having killed so many of his subjects, and invited the rest of the people to hold a consultation with him. One of his courtiers, who was the most intelligent man of those times, addressed him as follows. 'O king! our true foe is the sovereign of Turkestân, because all his thoughts are concentrated on the conquest of Erân. As for the Qaisar, his object is to recover the countries of which Naushirvân had deprived him; but he is a Christian and a religious man, so that if you abandon these provinces to him, he will depart to his own country. The inhabitants of Kharaz and the Circassians have invaded our country for the sake of pillage, but if you send a message to the people of Azarbaijân to make common cause with us against them, they will, for fear of losing the plunder which they have gathered, quit the country without coming to blows.' Hormuz, being comforted by this advice, acted up to it, and after he had got rid of all his other antagonists, he consulted his best men on the measures to be adopted against the Khâqân. On that occasion one of the members of the assembly stated that

his father would be able to give valuable advice concerning this matter, but that his great age prevented him from taking part in the consultations. Hormuz replied: 'I know your father well, because in the reign of Kesra he had brought my mother from Turkestân to Erân. But state the object of your speech.' The man continued: 'When my father heard yesterday that the king is in want of someone whom he might send to wage war against the Khâqân, he said: "I have something to say in this matter which I must tell to the king."' Hormuz accordingly had an interview with the old man, who spoke as follows: 'At the time when the just king [i.e., Naushirvân] sent me to Turkestân to bring the daughter of the Khâqân, and the latter had received me in a handsome manner, and had also become acquainted with the object of my embassy, he ordered all his daughters to be introduced to me, that I might select one, and convey her to Madâin. But your grandmother, unwilling to be separated from her daughter, ordered dancing-girls to be dressed up, and to be shown to me, but placed her own daughter among them without any ornaments. As soon, however, as my eyes alighted on that pure jewel, I discovered her resemblance to the chief lady of the harem, and immediately selected her. The distress of the chief lady was of no avail, and the Khâqân sent for an astrologer to ascertain the fate of the august princess. After an attentive examination of her case the astrologer stated that it appeared from the position of the celestial bodies, the lady would by the sovereign of Persia become mother of a son of short stature, large head, and wide eyes, who would inherit the kingdom after his father, but that afterwards a man from this country would invade his kingdom. The said happy child of destiny will, however, send against him an individual of high stature, with a broad forehead, curled hair, corpulent, of a tawny complexion, with knit eyebrows, thin and badly-formed limbs, to attack him, to slay his king, to destroy his army, and to ravage his possessions. The Khâqân having thus been informed of the decrees of fate, sent his daughter with

royal presents under my protection to Madâin.' After the old man had done speaking, he expired in that very assembly. The king, with all present, were astonished at the event, and several persons immediately were despatched to search for the individual described in the above statement of the old man; and some time afterwards information was brought to the king that the individual in question was no other than Behrâm Chubîn, a commander and noble prince of Rei, who had from the time of Naushirvân and till the reign of Hormuz been Governor of Armenia and of Azarbaijân, and who was distinguished among the warriors of Persia by his bravery and perfect chivalry. After due consultation with his councillors, Hormuz appointed Behrâm Chubîn to be commander-in-chief for the war against the Khâqân of China, whose name was Sawah Shâh.

Campaign of Behrâm Chubîn against, and Victory over, Sawah Shâh; Defection of Behrâm Chubîn from his Sovereign Hormuz, and the Misfortunes of the Latter.

Hormuz summoned Behrâm Chubîn from Armenia, and ordered him to collect an army numerous as locusts, wherewith to march against Sawah Shâh. Behrâm then picked out twelve thousand celebrated warriors, who were between forty and fifty years of age, and when Hormuz asked whether he intended with so small a number to attack a man whose army consisted of three millions, Behrâm's reply was that the disadvantages entailed by a very large army are greater than the profit; he also mentioned numerous generals who had with armies like his own vanquished opponents commanding numberless hosts.

After Behrâm had performed great marches, and had arrived in Khorâsân, Sawah Shâh sent him letters in which he promised him money and honours if he agreed to side with him. Behrâm, however, refused to become a traitor, and a desultory war ensued, in which Behrâm

happened to shoot the King of Turkestân dead with an arrow; but this exploit did not put an end to the struggle, and the son of Sawah Shâh marched at the head of his army against Behrâm, and valiantly fought several battles, but was made prisoner at last.

According to the author of the *Ghoniah*—and the responsibility rests with him—Behrâm had, besides the son of Sawah Shâh, captured also two hundred and fifty thousand camels, together with all the cash, arms, gold and silver vessels, and camp-equipage of the army of the Turks, all of which he sent to Madâin. Hormuz considered this to be a great event, and extolled the prowess of Behrâm; but Yazdânbakhsh the wazir, who was an enemy of the general, told the king that what he had sent was merely the ear of the cow. These words so affected Hormuz that they induced him to send a yoke and a woman's spindle [as marks of ignominy] to Behrâm. When these two gifts had reached the general, he placed the yoke on his own neck, and the spindle in front of himself. This exhibition displeased the officers so much that they swore allegiance to Behrâm, and agreed to revolt from Hormuz. The general, however, devised a stratagem, and coined money with the name of Khosru Parviz, the son of Hormuz, which he sent into the country in all directions. This proceeding excited the ire of Hormuz against Parviz, who, becoming afraid of his father, departed to Armenia and Azarbaijân. After the flight of Khosru, Hormuz imprisoned Panduiah and Bastâm, who were the maternal uncles of Khosru. They escaped, however, from prison, and conspired with a number of soldiers, who succeeded in taking possession of the person of Hormuz and depriving him of his eyesight. As soon as this news reached Khosru, he hastened with the speed of the wind and of lightning to the metropolis of Naushirvân. Arriving at Madâin, he placed the crown on his head, excused and justified himself to Hormuz, who believed his words, and entreated him to avenge him upon those who had injured him. This Khosru promised to do, after settling accounts with Behrâm.

BEHRÂM CHUBÎN ATTACKS KHOSRU AND PUTS HIM TO FLIGHT. THE ROYAL PRINCE ESCAPES TO RÛM, COMES BACK AGAIN, AND TRIUMPHS OVER THE ENEMIES OF HIS GOVERNMENT.

When Behrâm heard of the calamity of Hormuz, he became anxious to remove Khosru, and proceeded to Madâin to attack him. Khosru also made haste to encounter him, and the two armies met on the banks of the Nahirvân. After mutual recriminations a battle was fought, but in consequence of some treachery the forces of Khosru turned tail on the battle-field and returned to Madâin. By the advice of Hormuz, Khosru started to Rûm, but after travelling a short distance, Panduiah and Bastâm insisted that the interests of the king required them to return in order to liberate his mind from any apprehensions concerning Hormuz [by murdering him]. Although Khosru tried to dissuade them from their evil intentions, all his entreaties proved of no avail. Accordingly they both returned and strangled Hormuz with a bow-string; then they retraced their steps and overtook Khosru the same evening, but their fear of being pursued made them travel day and night, until they reached a certain monastery, where they halted to take some rest. Here they ascertained that they would soon be overtaken by the army of Behrâm, wherefore Panduiah hit upon the ruse of dressing himself in the garments of Khosru, and sending him off in the direction of Rûm. Having donned the royal garb, Panduiah showed himself on the terrace of the convent, so that when the officers of Behrâm, who were approaching, perceived him, they mistook him for the prince. Panduiah, however, went down, exchanged the royal dress for his own, and again making his appearance on the terrace, shouted: 'Let the commander of the army come here, I have something to tell him.' Then Behrâm Siâwashâm came forward, and both parties recognising each other, Panduiah addressed him as follows: 'The king sends thee his greetings, and requests thee to respite him

till sunset, because he has had no rest since three days.' Behrâm Siâwashân replied: 'I am an old servant, and consent to the request of the king.' When the appointed time had expired, Panduiah came again upon the terrace and said to Behrâm: 'Parviz acknowledges that thou hast acted well towards him, but he wishes to enjoy this night's rest, and will accompany you in the morning.' Behrâm again consented, and ordered the soldiers to remain on the watch till morning. At daybreak, however, Behrâm, having got ready to depart with his army, shouted: 'It is time to come out.' Panduiah, however, delayed, and Behrâm was impatient. At last Panduiah came out from the monastery when the sun was high, and confessed his stratagem to Behrâm. The whole army was greatly astonished at this news, and Behrâm Siâwashân took Panduiah to Behrâm Chubîn to explain the matter; the latter, however, made him prisoner, and entrusted him to the keeping of Behrâm Siâwashân.

It is related that when Khosru Parviz left the monastery, he hastened on the wings of celerity towards Rûm, but alighted during his journey in the house of Ayâs Bin Qobaissah Tâyi, who furnished him with provisions and horses, and overwhelmed him with all kinds of favours. After duly performing the journey, Khosru arrived in the metropolis of the Qaisar, who honoured him with an interview.

The Qaisar was so pleased with the arrival of Khosru, that he presented him with one hundred beautiful Turkish boys, and with twenty girls—who were all royal princesses captured in war—with golden diadems, one hundred costly pearls, one thousand gold dinârs, and a golden table encrusted with ornaments, and having in its centre a bowl of onyx-stone, filled with sapphires and rubies, as well as with other precious gems. He gave him also one thousand pieces of gold-brocade, together with many other presents. Marriage was also celebrated between Khosru and Mariam, the daughter of the Qaisar; and after the lapse of eighteen months, which Khosru had spent in Rûm, the Qaisar

despatched his son Benâtûs with seventy thousand men; but according to another tradition with one hundred thousand, each of whom was able to challenge and to fight thousands, and they were ordered to march in his retinue against the enemy.

Parviz arrived with great pomp in Azarbaijân, and Panduiah, who had escaped from the custody of Behrâm, and was living in the country of Azarbaijân, joined him with a large army. These events disquieted Behrâm to such a degree that he marched with an army from Madâin to encounter Parviz. When the two armies had sufficiently approached each other three Turkish boys came forth from the army of Behrâm, halted in the centre of the plain, and challenged Parviz to single combat, saying: 'Come out, and each of us will fight thee separately.' Parviz complied with the summons, although Benâtûs had greatly dissuaded him. The three pugnacious Turks assailed Parviz one after the other, but were all slain by him. The soldiers of Persia, as well as of Rûm [Byzantines] were amazed at the prowess of the king; they applauded, and all alighted from their horses to kiss the ground with the lips of civility. In this act also Benâtûs, the son of the Qaisar, participated, alighting from his steed, and kissing the stirrup of Parviz. One of the above-mentioned many men, each of whom was surnamed Hezâr-merd [a thousand men], asked: 'O king! How couldst thou, in spite of thy bravery, flee from thy officer?' Khosru, being displeased with this question, gave no reply. This same Hezâr-merd then asked Parviz to point out Behrâm, as he was desirous to fight him. Behrâm, who happened to be in front of his army, mounted on a piebald charger, was accordingly singled out by Parviz. The Hezâr-merd attacked Behrâm and fought a while with him, until Behrâm at last aimed such a blow at the head of his antagonist that he split his whole body in two, and the sword struck the knob of his saddle. Khosru chuckled at this event, but the Rûmis, who were distressed thereby, inquired about the cause of the laughter of Parviz, who replied: 'He blamed me for retreating from my own officer.'

Then he ordered the corpse of the man to be embalmed, and sent to the Qaisar, with an account of the whole affair.

In short, when the evening had set in, a great portion of the army which had formerly been in the service of Hormuz, remembering the obligations of gratitude, went over to the camp of Khosru, and Behrâm fled so precipitately that he did not halt until he had arrived at the court of the Khâqân. As he was a man of well-known bravery, and had performed great deeds, he grew daily in the favour of the Khâqân. At the instigation of Parviz, however, the chief lady of the Khâqân's harem got the brave man assassinated, for which crime the Khâqân divorced her.

REIGN OF KHOSRU PARVIZ [CHOSROES II.].

In the *Kâmel-ut-tovârikh* it is stated that the word Parviz means 'victorious'; but the author of the *Mufâtih-ul-u'lûm* renders the words Khosru Parviz by 'glorious king.' He was distinguished among the sovereigns of Persia by his majesty, his administration of justice, intellect, foresight, great armies, treasures and possessions; by the security of highways, and by his firmness of purpose.

After he had vanquished Behrâm, and established himself on the throne, he rewarded the Byzantines [Rûmis] with extraordinary sums of money, and sent them back. He also fulfilled all the conditions agreed upon between them when he departed from the Qaisar. He then applied himself to establish a firm government. He treated all his subjects kindly, but, obeying his father's injunction, slew his maternal uncles Panduiah and Bastâm. When fourteen years had elapsed the Rûmis acted treacherously towards the Qaisar and his son Benâtûs, killing them both. The other son of the Qaisar asked aid from Khosru, who sent him with a brave army into the country of Rûm and Syria. When the Persians entered Filistîn and Jerusalem they made all the Christians and others prisoners; they, moreover, obtained possession of the cross which had been kept

in a golden box concealed under ground, and sent it to Khosru. They were in the same manner victorious in the city of Alexandria and in the country of Nubia. They marched to the vicinity of Constantinople, and the devastation made by the Persian army was great. But despite of all these efforts of the Erânians the Rûmis would not pay allegiance to the son of the Qaisar, who was a royal prince of great intellectual powers and much experience:

Distich : Government is not in skill,
It is only in heaven's will.

It is narrated that the Rûmis had elected an individual named Harqal [Heraclius] to be their governor and sovereign. He was a righteous and God-fearing monarch, and when he perceived what havoc the Persians had committed in Rûm by their slaughter and pillage, he implored the King of kings to deliver the Rûmis from this calamity. The arrow of his prayers struck the target of response, and during several consecutive nights he was favoured with a vision, in which he saw Khosru brought before him with a chain round his neck, and heard a voice saying to him: 'Make haste to fight Parviz, because victory will be on thy side.' On the strength of this true vision Harqal collected an army, marched from Constantinople to Nassibîn, and Khosru sent one of his generals with twelve thousand men to attack him. Harqal met the Persians and killed six thousand of them, with all the officers of Parviz. Allah—whose name be extolled—has said: 'Have not the Greeks [*i.e.*, Byzantines] been conquered [by the Persians] in the nearest part of the earth, but after their conquering they will be conquered in some years, etc. ?'[277] The occasion for the revelation of this verse, and an account of some events concerning Khosru and Harqal, will be recorded in the second volume [second part] if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

[277] Qurân, ch. xxx. 1, 2, and beginning of 3. See notes on these verses in Sale's and other translations of the Qurân.

The Costly and Rare Things which Khosru possessed and by which he was distinguished above the Kings of Persia and others.

Historians have related that Parviz possessed a throne named Taqdis, which was extremely high. In the construction of it one hundred and twenty masters, each of whom had thirty assistants, were engaged for two years by turns, without any intermission of the work. This throne contained one hundred and forty thousand nails, each of which weighed from sixty to a hundred mithqâls. It was divided into several parts, so that at each season the king sat on a different side. It was encrusted with precious gems, and one thousand golden balls were suspended from it, each of which weighed five hundred mithqâls. On this throne the twelve signs of the zodiac, the seven planets, with various dials, and several other things were delineated.

He possessed thirty thousand gold-embroidered saddles, and one hundred treasuries, each of which had its own special name. Thus, for instance, one of them was called 'treasure brought by the wind,' because the King of Rûm had for his own purposes loaded one thousand ships [?] with various costly things to be conveyed to a stronghold; but the winds drove the vessels to a place in charge of the agents of Khosru, who took possession of the treasures.

In his harem he kept twelve thousand girls of great beauty. He had twelve hundred elephants. He possessed a quantity of gold-bullion, which was so pliable that it could be moulded into any shape required without the aid of fires. In his stables five thousand horses were fed on oats, and twelve thousand camels were carrying the baggage of the king when he was moving about. The horse named Shabdiz, which excelled the wind in fleetness, is well known and celebrated. He possessed other rare things, the like of which could not be found in the whole world, and so many of them are mentioned in historical works that common sense refuses to give credit to the marvellous accounts.

Among his other peculiarities his connection with Shirin is worthy to be briefly noticed in this place. In some chronicles it is related that at first Shirin was a girl in the service of one of the grandees of Persia, and that in his youth Khosru occasionally visited the said grandee's house, where he became acquainted with Shirin, and dallied with her. The master of the house warned Shirin not to have anything to do with Khosru; but she would not be restrained, until one day Khosru presented her with his ring, and her master having been informed of the fact ordered one of his attendants to drown her in the river Euphrates. When the man had brought her as far as the banks of the stream the girl besought him to spare her life. He replied that he could not act contrary to the orders of his master, but told her that he would throw her into the water at a spot where she could again get out; and this he did. After Shirin had thus escaped from a watery grave she presented herself at the cell of a hermit, who lived in the vicinity, and insinuated to him her wish to dedicate herself to the service of God, and to become the servant of the hermit. She remained for some time in that place until one day Parviz happened to pass that way, after having attained the royal dignity. Shirin then requested one of the officers who accompanied him to inform him of her whereabouts, and gave him the above-mentioned ring as a token to confirm her statement. As soon as the king had obtained this information he despatched a number of eunuchs and female attendants to the hermitage, who conveyed Shirin with great pomp in a litter to Madâin. This statement agrees, however, neither with the Shâhnâmah nor with Tabari.

It is said that a woman, in order to be a perfect beauty, must be endowed with forty qualities, and that in those times they were not concentrated in any female, except in Shirin. It is related that after Khosru had been killed his son Shiruiah coveted Shirin, and that when his attentions to her had passed all bounds she induced him by a stratagem to allow the door of the Dukhma [mausoleum] of

Parviz to be opened. As soon as she entered the place she swallowed a violent poison, which immediately took effect, and killed her on the spot.

The End of Khosru Parviz.

Towards the close of his life Khosru Parviz—like many others whose fortunes are predestined to decline—exchanged his laudable qualities for reprehensible ones, by tearing up the letter which the prophet (the benediction of Allah be on him) had sent him—as will afterwards be narrated by the faveur of Allah—and by imprisoning a great multitude of soldiers who had fled from the boundaries of Rûm and had come to Madâin. He also became extremely suspicious, because astrologers had predicted that in a short time one of his sons would beget a scion, from whom the kingdom would pass over to strangers. He therefore retained his sons in his palace, lest they might have intercourse with women, and he imagined that he could thus nullify the decrees of fate. He had also killed No'mân Bin Munzar, and appointed Ayâs Bin Qobaissah Tâyi to govern Arabia, because he had aided him in his flight to Rûm. To these crimes he added other wicked deeds, which so exasperated the civil and military officers of his government that they deposed him by common consent in the ninth year of the Hegira, and installed on the throne of royalty his son Qobâd, who is known by the name of Shiruiah. Parviz was removed from the capital, and imprisoned in the house of a high officer of the army, where he was guarded by five hundred soldiers. His reign lasted thirty-eight years.[278]

Reign of Shiruiah [Siroes].

After the grandees of Persia had raised Shiruiah to the royal throne, they represented to him that they had deposed Parviz on account of his evil deeds, and that they now intended to kill him; moreover, that in case Shiruiah

[278] This is quite correct, because he reigned from A.D. 590 to 628. See Gibbon, ch. xlvi.

refused to grant his assent, they would deliver Parviz from captivity, and would surrender Shiruiah into his power. The king asked for delay, and sent a man to his father to enumerate his transgressions, and to bring a reply, if he had any to make; the intention of Shiruiah being to adduce evidence for exculpating him. The messenger returned with answers calculated to silence the accusers; but as the amirs and nobles were obstinate, they proved of no avail, and Khosru was slain.

The sentence was executed as follows: The grandees waited successively on Shiruiah, and reiterated their desire that he should issue orders for the murder of his father. He assented, but everyone whom he asked to commit the act demurred. At last Shiruiah beckoned to the son of Mardanshâh, whose father had been unjustly slain by Khosru, and commanded him to take his revenge. The son of Mardanshâh obeyed, and had an interview with Khosru, who said: 'I have killed thy father without a cause, and whoever spares the murderer of his own father is an unnatural son.' Then the son of Mardanshâh slew Khosru, and reported the matter to Shiruiah, who scratched his face, tore his hair, lamented and groaned, but afterwards attended with his grandees and nobles at the funeral of Khosru. After he had, however, returned from the cemetery, he immediately issued orders for the execution of the son of Mardanshâh, saying: 'Whoever spares the murderer of his father is an unnatural son.'

Shiruiah was a just prince, who loved his subjects; but according to tradition, he killed at least fifteen of his brothers—all of whom were distinguished by knowledge and education—at the instigation of his wazir Firuz. On that occasion [of slaughter?] the plague broke out, and carried off countless numbers of the people.

It is related that on the second day after the slaughter of the descendants of Kesra, Purândukht and Azarmidukht, the sisters of Shiruiah, said to him: 'Greediness for power had induced thee to murder thy father and brothers. No doubt God will avenge them on thee.' When Shiruiah

heard these words, he wept, and throwing his diadem on the ground, became depressed and melancholy. At last a mortal disease befell him, and he was in the sixth month of his reign gathered to his fathers and brothers.

Reign of Ardeshir Bin Shiruiah.

He ascended the throne of his father at the age of seven years. When one of the grandees of Persia, whose name was Shehriâr, who had the frontiers of the country in his charge, and who was distinguished in station above his peers, had heard of this event, he became enraged, because Ardeshir had been raised to the throne without consulting him. Accordingly he marched with an army to Madâin, slew Ardeshir and many others, on the plea of their having been concerned in the deposition and murder of Khosru. As the latter had left no male heir, he himself ascended the throne. There is a difference of opinion about the duration of the reign of Ardeshir, which is in the 'Meadows of God'[279] stated to have lasted fifteen months, and in the *Kâmel-ut-tovârikh* he is said to have reigned six months; but the [true] knowledge is with Allah.

Reign of Shehriâr.

He is also called Farâin, but in the *Shâhnâmah* he is named Bakrâz. When his authority had become paramount, the army of Erân was unwilling to pay him allegiance. Therefore three brothers of the garrison of Estakhar [Persepolis] conspired to slay him, and whilst he was on a ride, one of them pierced him with a lance from the rear, throwing him to the ground. According to one tradition, his reign lasted forty days, and according to another twenty; but Abu Hanifah Dinvari states that, after he had reigned one year, the Persians, disliking to be governed by an individual not of the royal dynasty, attacked and killed him. Then they placed on the throne Juvân Shir [young lion], the son of Parviz, whom he had by

[279] This celebrated work of Masu'di was edited in Arabic, with a French translation, by Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille.

Kardamah, the sister of Behrâm Chubin. One year afterwards Juvân Shir died, and the throne lapsed to Purândukht.

Reign of Purândukht, Daughter of Khosru Parviz.[280]

She was an intelligent woman, who spread out the carpet of justice and equity, and erected bridges. She raised one of the murderers of Shehriâr to the wizirate, and sent back to the Qaisar as a gift the wood of the cross which had been brought from Rûm in the time of Khosru, and requested him to kill any partizans of Shehriâr who might be in his country. The Qaisar, being highly pleased with the wood of the cross, became a friend. Then Purândukht punished many persons by death who had been implicated in the death of her father. After a reign of one year and four months she hastened to the next world.

Reign of Chashindah.[281]

Some have said that he was a distant cousin of Parviz, that he was a dependant of Purândukht, that his name was Firûz, and Chashindah was only his sobriquet. His head was very large, and when he placed the crown on it, he said, 'This crown is extremely small.' From this utterance the wise and the noble prognosticated that his reign would be short. Ebn Athir says, 'His reign lasted less than one month, and the soldiers killed him because they disliked his behaviour.' In some histories it is related that when he said the above words the great men of the country exclaimed: 'This man is not worthy to reign.' As he had first of all uttered the word *tang* [tight, narrow], they removed the diadem from his head and placed it on another. In the Târikh of Hâfez Abru it is stated that after Chashindah, Khosru Bin Qobâd Bin Naushirvân became king, but

[280] Had a very short reign to A.D. 630.
[281] Two months, January and February, 631; also called *Chahinendah.*

this assertion is contrary to the tradition of all the historians, because most of them insert the reign of Azarmidukht after that of Chashindah.

Reign of Azarmidukht, Daughter of Khosru Parviz.[282]

She was a most intelligent and beautiful woman. She reigned in person, and would appoint no wazir. At that time Farrakhzâd, who had from the time of Khosru till then been governor of Khorâsân, left his son in charge of his administration, and paid a visit to Madâin, where he fell in love with the queen, and sent a person to make proposals of marriage to her. Azarmidukht sent a reply that, although it is a blemish to marry, the said lord ought nevertheless to come on a certain night to the palace, if his affection was sincere, so that his wishes might be gratified, because she was likewise desirous of an interview. At the same time she ordered the officer on guard immediately to inform her of the arrival of Farrakhzâd. When the hour of the meeting was near at hand, Farrakhzâd went to the bath, washed his body, swallowed some exhilarating medicine, of which rubies were an ingredient, and hastened joyfully to the rendezvous. The officer of the watch quickly informed the queen of the presence of the unfortunate man, whereon she ordered that slave of lust immediately to be beheaded, and his body to be thrown before the gate of the castle. The nobles and high officers of the army being amazed at this spectacle, asked the amir on guard for the reason of this punishment, but his reply was that the queen had not ordered this man to be executed before he deserved it. They were then made aware of what the crime of the Amir of Khorâsân had been. As soon, however, as his son heard this news, he brought his army to Madâin, vanquished Azarmidukht, and slew her.

[282] She reigned in March and April, A.D. 631. Her name is also spelt *Arzamidukht.*

Reign of Kesra Bin Ardeshir.

It is recorded in the Târikh of Hâfez Abru that after the reign of Azarmidukht, the Persians were in search of a man of royal blood, until they heard that one was living in Ahvâz, Kesra by name, and a descendant of Ardeshir Bâbeg. Accordingly they seated the poor fellow on the throne, but as he was too ignorant and weak to reign, the soldiers were disappointed in their hopes, and killed him without any guilt of his own.

Reign of Farrakhzâd Bin Khosru.[283]

After the murder of Kesra, the Persians again searched for a royal prince, and a son of Parviz was discovered living at Nassibîn, where he had fled for fear of Shiruiah. This the Persians considered to be a lucky circumstance, and brought Farrakhzâd to Madâin, where they seated him on the royal throne. The beginning of his reign was auspicious, because he acted justly towards everybody. One month only had, however, elapsed of his reign, when one of his slaves poured a deadly poison into his beverage, and thus brought his life to conclusion.

Reign of Yazdejerd Bin Shehriâr.[284]

At the time when Khosru Parviz was keeping his sons in confinement on account of the prediction of the astrologers, in order to prevent them from having intercourse with females, as has already been stated above, Shehriâr Bin Khosru sent a man to Shirin, and complained that his impulse of sexuality was distressing him. Therefore she sent him a girl of noble birth—who had on account of some crime been apprenticed to a barber—in a male dress, under the pretence of shaving him. Shehriâr had intercourse with her, and she became enceinte with Yazdejerd. The infant to whom she gave birth was brought up in the

[283] Reigned during July and August, A.D. 631.
[284] He began to reign on June 16, A.D. 632, and was killed in 652, between March 21 and August 23.

harem of the king from his birth till the age of five years. One day Khosru happened to perceive the boy and asked whose child he was, and the attendants said, 'He is the son of Shehriâr.' As, however, the astrologers had predicted that the last king of the Sasanian dynasty, from whom the kingdom would pass over to strangers [*i.e.*, to the Arabs], would have a blemish on his body, Khosrû ordered Yazdejerd to be stripped, and on discovering that fault on his knee, intended to kill him, but Shirin interfered. Then Khosru exclaimed: 'Take the wretch away from the palace, that I may never see him.' Accordingly Shirin had the boy transferred to the country to avoid the anger of Parviz.

When the professors of Islâm had become victorious on the frontiers of Persia, and Farrakhzâd had departed to the regions of non-existence, the lords of the government brought Yazdejerd from Estakhar to Madâin, and placed the royal crown on his head. During his reign many battles were fought between the Arabs and the Persians. When at last the Moslems were approaching Madâin, Yazdejerd fled from the sword of Sa'd Bin Woqâs to the Persian E'râq, thence to Khorâsân, and was finally killed at Merv. The standards of the infidels were turned down, and those of Islâm rose upwards. The whole affairs of Yazdejerd will be described[285] in the history of the divinely-guided Khalifahs (the benediction of Allah be upon them all) in the course of the second volume, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

It is not hidden to the minds of the enlightened that the author's object in the composition of this work—which contains accounts of the prophets, the histories of kings and philosophers—was chiefly to fulfil a duty towards God, and to gain royal favours, by always secretly, as well as publicly, treading the paths of verity, and abstaining from evil ways in prosperity and distress. Our efforts were con-

[285] See 'The Subjugation of Persia by the Moslems, and Extinction of the Sasanian Dynasty,' by E. Rehatsek. *Journal of the Bombay Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XI., pp 147-218. Printed 1875.

stant in exalting the teachers and the doctrines of our religion, and we spared no pains in reproving whatever is evil and wicked, so as to open the portals of mercy to the inhabitants of the world, and to enable the rich and the poor to taste the sweet beverage of virtue at the fountain-head of justice and beneficence.

We are grateful for the blessings of God, by whose favour the country of Khorâsân in general, and the metropolis of Hirat in particular, have always been adorned by the presence of ecclesiastical and secular doctors, and that he who is without an equal in the world is most distinguished by his extraordinary attainments in all branches of knowledge, so that in whatever assembly a philosopher expounds tenets, he profits by his instructive conversation, and divines request him to open the flood-gates of his religious acquirements. His breast is a repository of the treasures of certainty, and his gentle heart a receptacle of the enigmas of subtlety. We mean the most righteous and just Amir, who is possessed of the highest qualities of an exalted mind, the establisher of justice and equity, the destroyer of the foundations of tyranny, the confidant of his royal majesty, the curator of the state, whom the poor and the rich delight to obey, the administrator of the shining and brilliant religion, the Amir A'li Shir, may Allah the Most High exalt his dignity and perpetuate his government.

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